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ARMS LIMITATION HAND-BOOK

PROBLEMS TO BE ATTACKED BY THE CONFERENCE

THE GREATEST ACT OF PREPAREDNESS the world has ever witnessed is initiated by the United States in calling the international Arms Congress at Washington and in keeping with American vision, it is preparedness against war instead of for war. That war looms ominously on the Asiatic horizon—a war so appalling in its scope and consequences that even the World War would be dwarfed by comparison—is a belief expressed in many quarters. Six months ago Premier Briand, addressing the French Parliament, declared that the situation in the Orient was intensely critical; and he spoke frankly, the *Baltimore American* reminds us, of the possibility of war between the United States and Japan. A few weeks later Lord Lee, speaking for the British Government, described the Eastern situation as so delicate that its settlement would brook no delay.

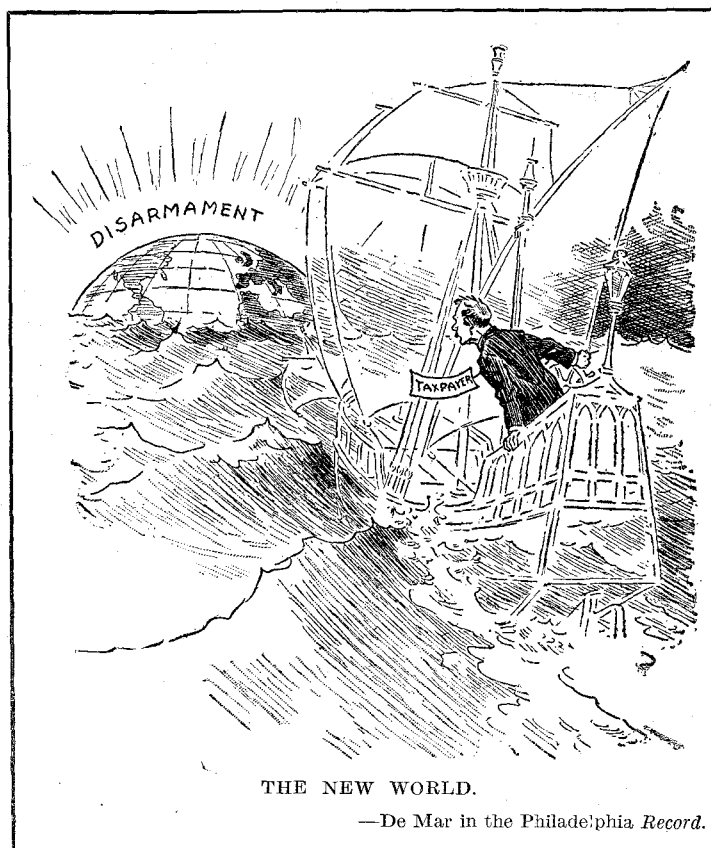
"Farseeing and responsible men, in France, England and Japan, know and realize to-day that the Washington Conference is a big affair where the prime question will be that of strife or peace in a large part of the world," writes a Paris correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. "The menace of war is real," declares the *Echo de Paris*.

"the conflagration appears as fatally certain as lightning which leaps from two clouds charged with opposing currents," avers *L'Oeuvre*, another Paris paper; and in *L'Internationale*, a Communist journal, we read: "Without doubt Pacific wars are the new madness with which the capitalist régime menaces humanity." From Sydney, New South Wales, a Federated Press correspondent of the Socialist *New York Call* quotes Australian labor leaders as saying that sinister influences are at work to make the Pacific Ocean "the center of the world's next exhibition of butchery on a large scale."

In certain circles in Washington "the hope of disarmament is overclouded with a shadow of what I suppose I must call 'a discusst war,'" reports an American correspondent of the *London Daily News*, who adds that some persons with whom he

talked even named 1924 as the year when Japan would "try her luck." A British admiral, Sir Cyprian Bridge, is quoted by the *San Francisco Argonaut* as declaring that before the Washington Conference "there is only one problem, and it is the problem of the coming conflict between the two halves of the human race, the white and the colored; it will be in the Pacific." In this conflict, he adds, Asia could draw upon "about one thousand millions of colored people, as against some five hundred millions of white people."

Hence the first step toward a reduction of armaments, most observers agree, must be a series of understandings and agreements which will reconcile or compromise the conflicting interests, aspirations and ambitions of the various nations involved in the Pacific and Far Eastern situation. To this end America has called these nations together in a Conference in which President Harding's "gospel of understanding" will be supplemented by Secretary Hughes's "gospel of facts." "It is an opportunity to avert war—a war that may draw to its flame the whole civilized world, yellow and white—and if it fails, then war is brought menacingly nearer," writes Nathaniel Peffer in the November *Century*. The problem of this



Conference, says Mr. Peffer, is not so much to solve specific problems, as to build a new morality. Here the supreme test, he agrees, will be the way the Conference deals with China: "The whole world's attitude toward China must make a complete reversal. A beginning must be made of undoing the wrong that has been done China for three generations."

"Of all the problems before the Conference," writes Richard Hatton in *Current Opinion*, "the most important to the American people is that concerning a practical and permanent settlement of those Asiatic questions which are universally recognized as the germs from which the next great war will be bred." First among these Asiatic questions, he avers, is "the definite fixing of the status of China." And he argues that "any attempted solution which does not recognize the inviolability of Chinese terri-

tory, the sovereignty of the Chinese State, which does not puncture the Japanese claim to 'special interests in China,' will fall far short of insuring future peace on earth, will but lay the foundation for the greatest military upheaval in history." At the same time, says Mr. Hatton, "the economic future of Japan must be insured, while the teeth must be drawn from her almost fanatical devotion to arms as the only insurance." If the Conference fails to solve the problem of the Pacific, he concludes, "the question of disarmament, in so far as the United States is

"Thus Japan has sought, seeks, and is bound to continue to seek, full advantage of her proximity and her political influence reinforced by military strength to fortify that position which we are assailing. And, with the example of Paris in mind, with the daily evidences of the fatal consequences of a neglect of the economic factor there, the battle for the control of the Pacific, and of the markets of the Far East, will be waged with extreme determination. To be sure, for France and Italy the Pacific is only a stake and not a vital question, altho France holds colonies larger in area than the homeland, with a population of upward of 20,000,000 in Indo-China and the South Seas.

"The real question lies between the United States, Japan, and Britain, with Russia as a remote future circumstance, and China, as a self-defensive unit, even more a matter for the future. And the real question is economic. Militarism plays little real part, save as Japan relies upon her army to coerce China and her fleet to meet any real or imaginary threat from us. Reduction of armament will not materially affect the Pacific Question, altho it may lighten the staggering burdens all nations, and particularly all sea powers, are now bearing. The world can not afford arms, that is the plain fact. But in consenting to reduce armaments, no country will agree to surrender interests—above all, vital interests—such as the markets on which it must depend if it is to feed its home populations."

The task at Washington, according to Capt. H. B. Usher in the *London Fortnightly Review*, "is to prevent at all costs the development in the Pacific of the rivalries that have reduced Europe to ruin." As a writer in *The World's Work* sees it, the crux of the present disarmament

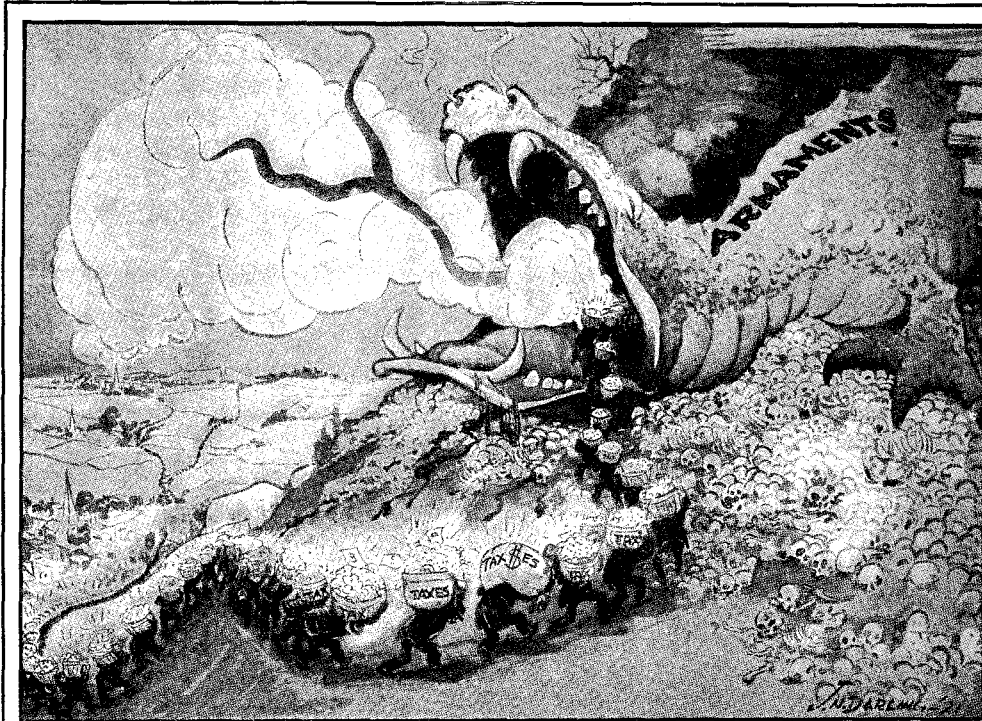
issue is this: "There is not going to be any limitation of armaments unless 'the open door' policy is ratified by Great Britain and accepted by Japan." And in the *San Francisco Chronicle* we read:

"For the most part these problems may be covered by the general statement that they concern, first, the question whether a strong nation may do anything whatever within the territory of a weaker nation, without consent of the weaker, or with consent secured by force. Secondly, if one nation may coerce and exploit another without its consent, which nations shall exploit which. That is a correct statement which no 'statesman' of any country could be induced to make for publication.

"More concretely, shall Great Britain, France and Japan mark out 'spheres of influence' in China or elsewhere within which only their subjects may build railroads, develop mines or petroleum, and within which they shall have effective influence over the policy of the nominal sovereign?

"Or, on the other hand, shall China, for example, be recognized by all other countries as completely sovereign within its recognized boundaries, as the United States, for example, is within its boundaries, and assisted to become and remain so by loans in which all nations participate on conditions which assure equal opportunity to all in competing for all kinds of business?

"Another matter whose discussion can not be avoided is the province of Shantung, which Germany brutally seized, compelling China to sign a treaty which gave color of title. China claims that by entering the war the treaty became void and the lease of Shantung thereby lapsed, restoring to China full sovereignty and all enemy property. Japan claims that China's declaration of war did not have that effect, but that all German claims and property fell to Japan by award of the 'supreme council.' Against that it is claimed that the award to Japan is void because it could not be made without our consent, and we did not consent.



From "Collier's," reproduced by permission.

BOY, PAGE ST. GEORGE!

And we laugh at the heathen Chinese for offering sacrifices to gilded dragons to drive away evil spirits.

—Darling in *Collier's*.

concerned, might as well not be taken up at all." The British delegates, according to the political correspondent of the *London Outlook*, share this belief that the success of the Conference is going to hinge on some agreement affecting the future of China. "Consequently," he writes, "they are likely to make proposals that will harmonize the interests of the United States and Japan."

"For Japan, for Britain, for the United States, the markets of the Far East are the one real hope for the future," explains Frank H. Simonds, discussing in *The American Review of Reviews* the economic aspect of this problem. He goes on to say:

"Japan, like Britain and like Germany, has become completely what the United States is tending ever more rapidly to become, an exporting nation pure and simple. Japan with sixty millions, Britain with nearly fifty millions on areas less than some of our individual States, can not permanently maintain their populations at home unless they can sell abroad the products of their factories and their services, and thus earn the price necessary to purchase abroad the food they can not produce at home. . . . For the Japanese, the question is one of life or death. For the British, taken in connection with the terrible shrinkage of their European markets, which may continue, the situation is only a little less acute.

"Now ostensibly we seek only an equality of opportunity in the Far East—the 'Open Door' and the 'integrity of China.' But these are as dangerous watchwords as some of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. For real equality of opportunity in the Far East almost inexorably means American supremacy. The time is at hand, if it has not already arrived, when our superior resources give us an unquestioned advantage over the Japanese; and it is open to serious question whether the British can permanently meet us on equal terms in the Far East.



ALL DRAWING AGAINST HIS ACCOUNT.

—Brown in the Chicago Daily News.

"And that suggests the whole question of 'mandates.' We have never assented to any of them. Are they valid instruments or void? If they are to be made valid by our assent, what are to be the terms and who shall enforce them?"

"Multitudes of specific questions will arise, but if unanimous agreement can be reached on the points which we have briefly sketched there will be no trouble in respect to anything."

The official outline of the agenda, or "things to be done," will be found in the "Catechism of the Conference" on page 25. In calling the Conference President Harding tentatively defined its scope and program as follows:

- "1. The limitation of armaments, naval and others, which are a menace to the peace of the world.
- "2. The discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions.
- "3. To formulate proposals to control in the interests of humanity the new agencies of warfare.
- "4. By a common understanding with respect to Pacific and Far Eastern problems of unquestioned importance, to arrive at a solution through the Conference that may serve to promote enduring friendship among the peoples."

Before it is through the Washington Conference will find itself concerned with these propositions, predicts Samuel G. Blythe, in *The Saturday Evening Post*:

"FIRST. A demonstration that war between the United States and Great Britain is impossible because of any situation that is concerned in this Conference, or in any other situation even remotely apparent, and, especially, that peaceful relations between the United States and Great Britain can not be broken in any way through operations of any present or future Anglo-Japanese alliance.

"SECOND. An acceptable plan whereby Japan's face may be saved, her need for expansion because of her growing population recognized, her national dignity conserved and her exact and proper status in the Pacific defined.

"THIRD. Some enforceable and definite plan that will guarantee to Great Britain the free and untrammelled access to the seas so necessary to her national existence in case of war.

"FOURTH. An agreement that will be respected over the open door in China.

"FIFTH. A satisfactory and guaranteed relief for the apprehensions of France that she may be left alone in case of a future attack on her by Germany."

The attitude of the United States toward Far Eastern problems is broadly defined in her policy of "The Open Door," formulated twenty years ago by John Hay. This policy, explains Arthur Wallace Dunn in *The American Review of Reviews*, means

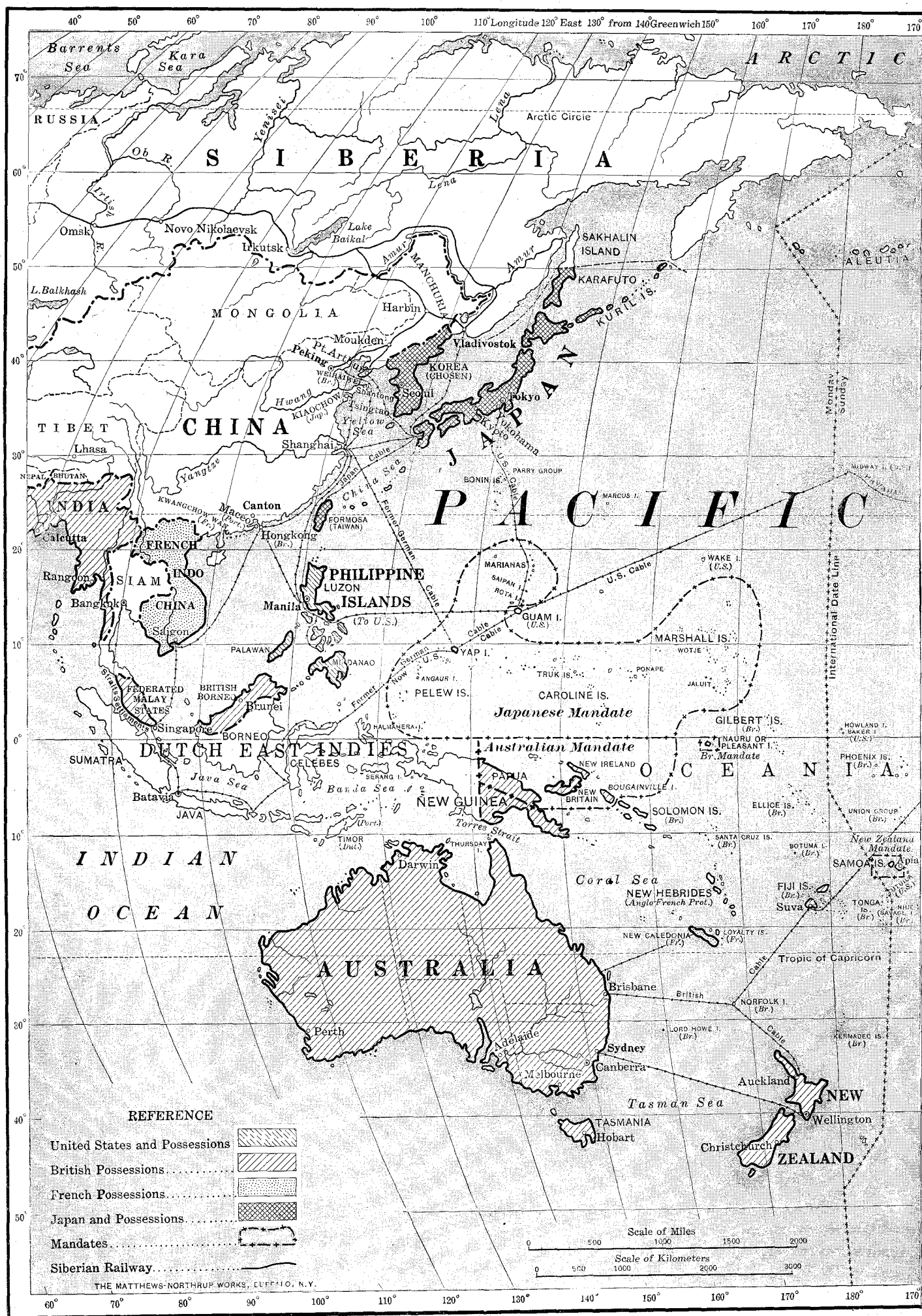
"that in China and Siberia every nation shall have the same rights as any other nation; that there shall be no discrimination or favoritism in the matter of concessions, trade, and the rights and privileges of different nationals." While all the Powers publicly accepted our "Open Door" doctrine, they seem to have paid very little further attention to it. "The 'Open Door' does not exist," writes C. M. Bishop in the *New York Evening Post*. He goes on to say:

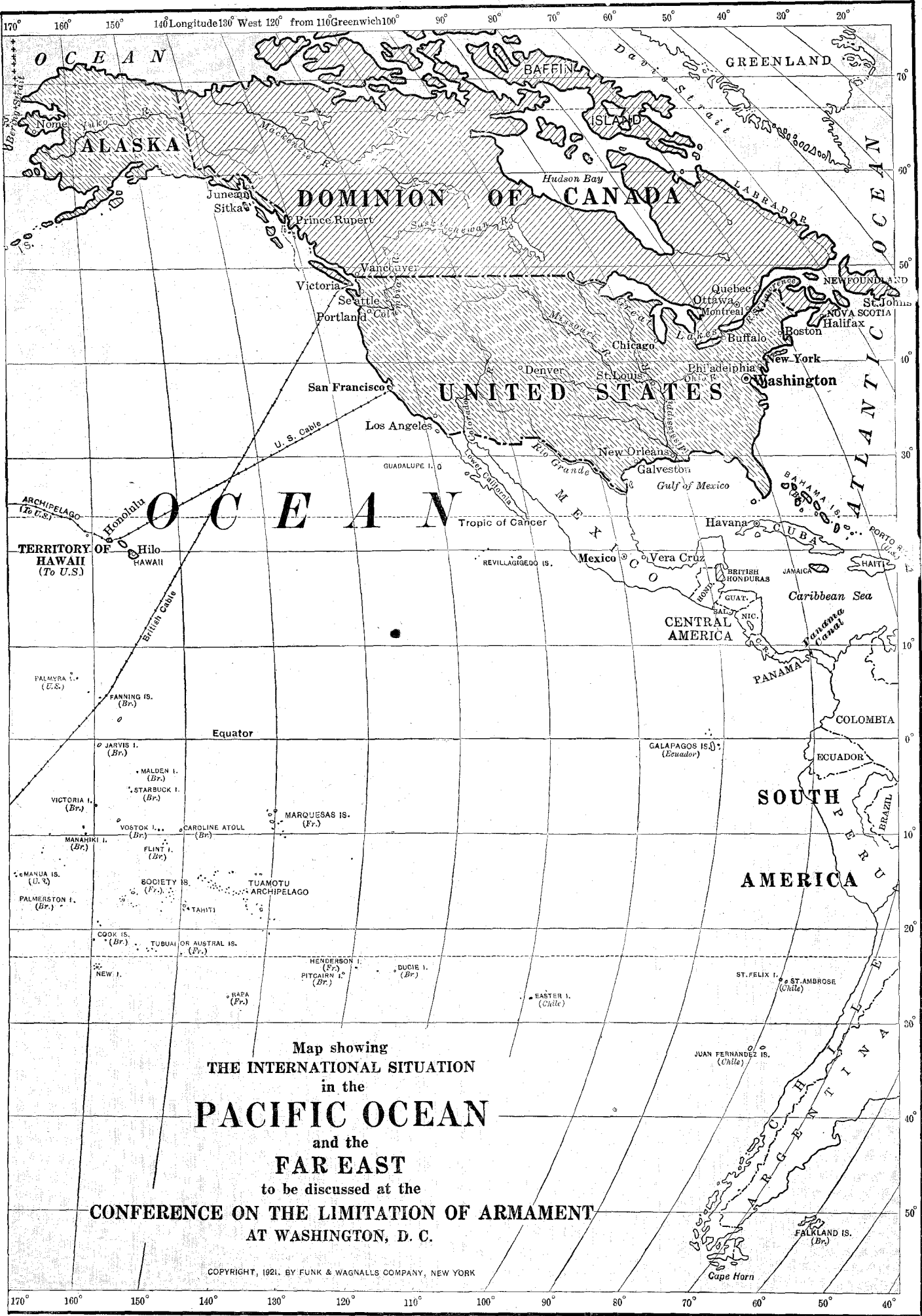
"The 'Open Door' has been closed in Manchuria for sixteen years, ever since Japan acquired control of the South Manchurian Railway, and Russia of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It has been closed in Shantung, not only during German occupation but also since Japan in 1914 ousted Germany from Tsingtao and took possession of the port and of the railway to Tsinanfu, 250 miles in the interior. Not only is it closed in Manchuria and Shantung; but in practically every one of the eighteen provinces of China proper there exists a claim on the part of some foreign Power to some 'special interest' of 'sphere of influence' which makes it necessary for an American merchant or capitalist desiring to do business in China to consult some other country before he is able to sell a case of goods or invest in an enterprise.

"Now what is the connection between the 'Open Door' and the Conference on Limitation of Armaments and Far Eastern questions? Simply this: unless Japan and Russia, England and France are prepared to make good their treaty obligations and give the products and the money of America an opportunity to compete on equal terms in the markets of China and Siberia, to which they are entitled by treaties with those countries then the United States must either relinquish its contention for an 'Open Door' or consider other methods of securing the rights it claims than those which have been ineffective in the past."

Something like the authority of an official definition of America's policy toward China attaches to the following words uttered recently in Shanghai by Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, American Minister to Peking, and quoted in the November *Current History*:

"We stand for the integrity of China and for the Open Door. We want China to remain in possession and control of her own territory and to be mistress in her own house. And we want in China the Open Door to the trade and commerce of all nations upon equal terms."





THE NAVIES OF THE WORLD—TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

IF IN A DAY SOON TO COME there should be no more navies, except police boats and revenue cutters, the poets might picture the ghosts of the famous old fighting ships of Carthage, Greece, Venice, France, Britain, and America gathered in some snug harbor to bewail the fact that they are to have no successors. But their regrets would find little echo from the men and women who pay the taxes in war and peace, to judge from all we read. In all the appeals in legislative bodies, on the platform, in the press, one may hear the cry of the peoples of the civilized world that, to paraphrase an old political slogan, the high cost of navies has been increasing, is increasing, and must be diminished. People fail to see the practical sense of building battleships to cost nearly \$40,000,000 apiece, which become obsolete and useless after fifteen years of peaceful floating about the seas. In the decade before the Great War the naval appropriations of the seven great Powers had nearly doubled. Our own naval appropriations are double those before the late World War. Japan's have more than doubled, and are nearly a third of her total budget.

Yet when the Conference at Washington points the way to a limitation of naval armaments, it will not be entirely an untrodden path. The reduction has begun. Germany has had her naval expenditures practically eliminated by the Versailles Treaty. Great Britain and France, relieved from the menace of the Kaiser's fleet, are denying themselves naval luxuries. Since 1918 the naval expenditures of both countries have been rapidly dropping. France has stopt work on her superdreadnoughts and between the armistice and the end of last year the British Admiralty sold or scrapped 1,869 ships. The British Government has shifted from a two-Power to a one-Power Navy.

The four large "post-Jutland" ships have been authorized, there is to be no competitive shipbuilding. Up to the meeting of the Washington Conference the United States and Japan are, however, officially committed to programs of naval expansion.

What these various naval policies mean in dollars and cents is indicated by figures given out in Washington and appearing in a dispatch to the *New York Times*. They show that for 1921-22, America's naval expenditures will be larger than those of any other country, while Japan is devoting a larger per cent. of its budget to naval expenditure than any other leading Powers. The figures for five nations for 1921-22 are given as follows:

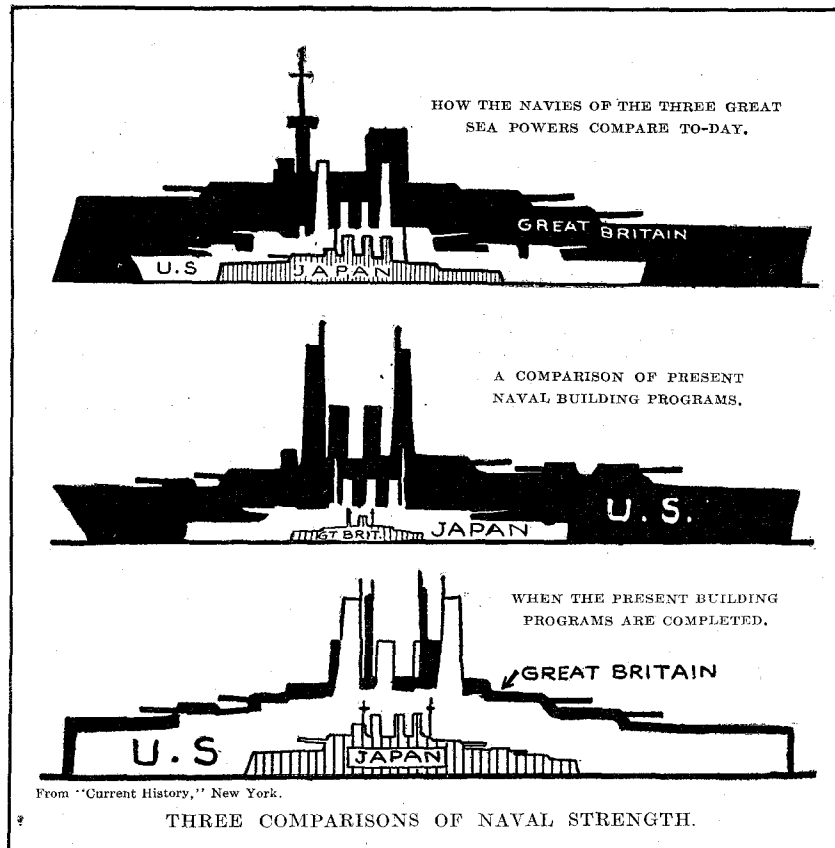
	Total Budget	Naval Expenditures	Percentage
United States.....	\$3,604,805,789	\$425,848,079	12
Great Britain.....	5,053,078,080	400,847,940	8½
France.....	5,620,264,436	181,509,986	3
Japan.....	778,146,312	248,519,224	32
Italy.....	(No data)*	81,068,742	..

And this is the showing for 1920-21:

	Total Budget	Naval Expenditures	Percentage
United States.....	\$4,780,829,510	\$757,486,849	16
Great Britain.....	5,625,216,720	441,639,378	8
France.....	5,114,341,618	199,668,287	4
Japan.....	634,950,000	187,207,522	30
Italy.....	5,154,170,000	78,389,226	1½

The effect of the present building programs on the relative naval strength of the three leading maritime Powers is shown approximately by the diagram on this page. Tables on the opposite page show how the nations have been until very recently increasing their naval budgets year after year, and how they stand in respect to their possession of various types of

war craft. The reader should be warned that it is extremely difficult to present a comparative picture of naval strength at any given time because of sudden changes in policy, legislative obstructions and modifications of programs, progress of construction, and the constant relegation of ships to the inactive or obsolete list. It is necessary in preparing such a table as that which we reprint at the top of the next page, to go back a number of months in order to get a broad basis of comparison. This table can be brought up to date by noting certain isolated figures which have recently appeared. For instance, an Associated Press dispatch from



Washington stated a few days ago that now, according to official naval statistics, as far as fighting ships go, Great Britain leads with 533 ships with an aggregate tonnage of 1,860,480; the United States has 454 ships of 1,289,463 tons, and Japan 99 of 528,689 tons. France and Italy hold third and fourth positions with fighting tonnage totaling 462,000 and 275,000, respectively. The completion of present programs, according to the same dispatch, will, it is said, add 17 ships to the British Navy, or 199,380 tons; 69 to the American with a total of 734,926 tons, and 85 to the Japanese, of 805,188 tons, exclusive of a special submarine program comprising 120 submersibles.

The usual basis for comparing navies is tonnage displacement. But this does not, of course, enable us to find out actual relative "battle efficiency," because the speed and the gun power of the different units is an extremely important matter. Then there is the astounding rapidity with which modern warships become obsolete.

In the current *Scientific American*, the editor, Mr. J. Bernard Walker, points out that the ranking of the three great naval Powers in 1924 will be considerably modified if we take into account the ships which will have depreciated through age or will be carrying more or less antiquated equipment. The fact is, we are told,

"Naval invention, coupled with the skill of the naval con-

HOW THE NAVIES OF THE WORLD STOOD JANUARY 1, 1921

These data taken from the *World Almanac* are approximate as to Russia. The figures for the German Navy show it as affected by the terms of peace.

IN COMMISSION

TYPE OF VESSEL	GREAT BRITAIN.		UNITED STATES.		GERMANY.		JAPAN.		FRANCE.		RUSSIA.		ITALY.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Battleships.....	46	962,750	33	707,990	6	78,136	11	244,800	17	327,950	7	139,800	9	158,060
Battle Cruisers.....	10	307,500	...	...	...	...	4	110,100	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cruisers.....	21	248,900	19	161,750	...	...	9	81,783	9	107,352	7	56,525	4	38,462
Light Cruisers.....	87	393,100	...	...	6	21,300	8	32,790	...	...	...	...	6	19,538
Coast Defense.....	31	108,045	4	12,900	...	...	7	78,166	...	...	...	...	1	1,650
Flotilla Leader.....	28	48,342	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Destroyers.....	386	400,960	215	244,946	12	15,050	65	51,175	62	36,422	67	45,438	35	10,832
Torpedo Boats.....	30	8,460	...	...	12	2,400	9	1,248	50	4,917	...	...	90	22,766
Submarines.....	185	139,270	107	...	...	...	17	6,200	55	26,292	20	12,385	74	13,852
Aircraft Carriers.....	6	90,400	...	...	...	...	1	7,600	...	...	...	...	3	21,511

BUILDING AND PROJECTED

Battleships.....	...	...	10	389,600	...	...	4	128,000	4	116,000	1	27,300	4	123,600
Battle Cruisers.....	...	...	6	211,800	...	...	4	160,000	...	...	4	130,000	...	...
Cruisers.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Light Cruisers.....	...	...	10	71,000	...	...	9	49,500	6	31,200	8	57,600	...	...
Coast Defense.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	12	21,600	...	...	...	...
Flotilla Leader.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	890	20	26,450	10	8,740
Destroyers.....	...	...	115	139,664	...	...	56	?	...	...	...	...	4	640
Torpedo Boats.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	18,900	9	6,078	27	28,826	8	2,556
Submarines.....	...	...	59	...	...	...	28	?	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aircraft Carriers.....	...	...	1	19,250	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

structor, is carrying the progress of the naval art along so rapidly that, after ten years of service in the first battle line, a capital ship must be relegated to the second line, and in fifteen is ready for the scrap-heap. Furthermore, development seems to proceed not upon arithmetical but upon geometrical lines, with the result that the more modern the ship the shorter is her tenure of useful military life. . . .

"If a capital ship is worthless for active service in fifteen years—that is to say, if she is at 100 per cent. efficiency on the date of her completion and has zero per cent. of efficiency in fifteen years, we take it that a reasonable way to get at her efficiency at any period in the interim is to find out how many years of life are still left to her. Thus, a ship five years old will be two-thirds efficient; a ship ten years old, one-third efficient, and so on."

Mr. Walker proceeds to estimate, on this basis, the comparative strength of the three great navies in 1924. The effects of Britain's private naval holiday and of the very large proportion of new battleships in the American Navy are easily discernible. In "battle efficiency," that is, measured by displacement modified by age, and including only ships carrying larger than 12-inch guns, the United States instead of being a close second will lead Great Britain in 1924 and will, in fact, be nearly as strong as Japan and Great Britain together. These are the figures:

	Battleships	Battle Cruisers	Totals
United States.....	554,467	261,000	815,467
Great Britain.....	192,484	254,986	447,469
Japan.....	195,939	204,867	400,806

Another important consideration in estimating relative naval power is the strength of a nation's merchant marine and the adaptability of its shipping to war uses. Many of the great German liners were practically auxiliary cruisers. So, it is believed, are also a number of British ships. American liners have done useful scouting work in war. And the usefulness of a large merchant marine for various auxiliary purposes is self-evident, to say nothing of the advantage of building up a naval reserve out of young men trained to the sea. The British Navy has always been backed by the great British Merchant fleet. During the war with Germany, however, the United States increased its merchant shipping enormously, and it has now taken the lead in tonnage owned, altho Great Britain still holds a considerably larger number of vessels. The figures for the year ending June 30, 1921, are given out as follows by Lloyds:

United States, 223 vessels of 1,160,730 gross tonnage; United Kingdom, 309 of 673,698; Japan, 62 of 312,899; British Dominions, 47 of 162,289; Holland, 37 of 137,623.

WHAT THE WORLD HAS BEEN SPENDING ON ITS NAVIES

(From the *World Almanac*.)

FISCAL YEAR.	GREAT BRITAIN. (Apr. 1 to Mar. 31)	UNITED STATES. (July 1 to June 30)	GERMANY. (Apr. to Mar.)	FRANCE. (Jan. to Dec.)	RUSSIA. (Jan. to Dec.)	ITALY. (July 1 to June 30)	JAPAN. (Apr. to Mar.)	Total.
1906-1907....	\$152,954,342	\$98,392,144	\$58,344,300	\$59,514,296	\$60,703,557	\$25,865,668	\$30,072,061	\$485,846,368
1907-1908....	151,880,617	117,353,475	69,133,500	60,685,813	43,012,166	27,516,454	35,124,346	504,706,370
1908-1909....	156,401,161	120,421,578	80,737,626	62,194,916	49,682,482	30,453,697	39,347,332	539,238,793
1909-1910....	181,936,341	122,247,365	95,047,820	64,899,589	58,059,040	31,812,885	35,005,719	589,008,759
1910-1911....	202,056,258	111,791,979	103,302,773	74,102,439	46,520,465	40,595,204	36,889,158	615,258,277
1911-1912....	211,596,296	133,559,072	107,178,480	80,371,109	56,680,915	40,780,987	42,944,329	673,111,187
1912-1913....	224,443,296	129,787,233	109,989,096	81,692,832	82,019,633	41,893,420	46,510,216	716,335,726
1913-1914....	237,530,459	136,858,301	112,091,125	90,164,625	117,508,657	49,550,147	48,105,152	791,808,466
1914-1915....	260,714,275	142,959,092	113,993,329	123,828,872	128,954,733	56,920,440	69,111,653	895,396,088
1915-1916....	1,001,202,544	152,821,540	...	...	...	135,736,207	...	...
1916-1917....	1,020,003,279	261,403,176	...	...	...	161,482,062	...	...
1917-1918....	1,119,944,455	1,214,995,767	...	301,910,093	...	226,061,278	85,000,000	...
1918-1919....	1,670,456,135	*1,685,179,554	...	430,199,173	...	229,779,176	125,000,000	...
1919-1920....	787,644,050	*613,371,839	...	320,206,073	...	...	150,000,000	...
1920-1921....	421,861,500	*433,279,574	...	174,929,243	...	73,109,124	...	...

*Appropriations.

SIX MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS TO-DAY

LAND DISARMAMENT and naval disarmament present two very different problems. If all navies were sunk, all naval construction stopt, and all merchant shipping made somehow inconvertible for war purposes, naval warfare might be at an end. But if every army in the world disbanded this winter and every bit of military equipment in the world were to be destroyed with the means of producing it, and all technical knowledge blotted from the mind of man, many seem to think it would not mean the end of land warfare. Next summer two neighboring peoples might rise in mutual hate and fly at each other in rudely organized mobs to fight to the death with fists, with sticks and stones, with the crudest improvised weapons. History tells us that armies can always be improvised—as witness the armies of Grant and Lee in our Civil War. Forced reduction of land forces can readily be evaded, as Napoleon learned from the Prussia in 1813.

Yet the inclusion of land disarmament among the *agenda* of the Washington Conference is no jest. Some writers overlook the fact that just at present armies are costing the taxpayer more than navies, and are more perilous to world peace. Readers of the foreign dispatches in our newspapers can not but note that all the wars now going on or threatened are land wars. Any fighting that Poland, Hungary, or the members of the Little Entente do will be on land. While the late Russian revolution began with a naval mutiny, and while the various revolutionary governments have maintained naval forces on the Black, Caspian and Baltic Seas, yet the formidable Red Army is a land force. When the dispatches tell of battles between the Greeks and the Turks, they are land battles. The civil war between North and South China will be settled, if fought to a finish, on land. Britannia rules the waves with her Navy, but in the event of serious outbreaks imperiling British rule in India or Mesopotamia, that rule will be upheld, the correspondents remind us, by the bayonet in the hands of the British infantryman. It would take Germany a long time to rebuild her navy, but with Allied hands off, Ludendorff might organize a formidable army of a million men in less than a year. Editors have remarked that if all these people could be trusted not to arm a single land soldier, to treat their joint boundaries as Canada and the United States treat theirs,

then the world's peace would be assured for years to come, no matter how many millions the sea Powers might waste on super-dreadnoughts and battle-cruisers.

The taxpayer's interest in land disarmament is more vital than is generally

realized. Of all the nations which fought against Germany the United States has the smallest army and is the most completely demobilized, yet we are now spending nearly a billion dollars a year on the Army and we are spending 25 per cent. more on our Army than on our Navy. Here are the figures comparing Army and Navy disbursements in 1914, and estimates for 1921 and 1922, as given by ex-Secretary of the Treasury Houston in a recent article in *The World's Work*:

	1914	1921	1922
Army.....	\$173,500,000	\$817,742,000	\$925,000,000
Navy.....	141,800,000	648,722,000	655,896,000

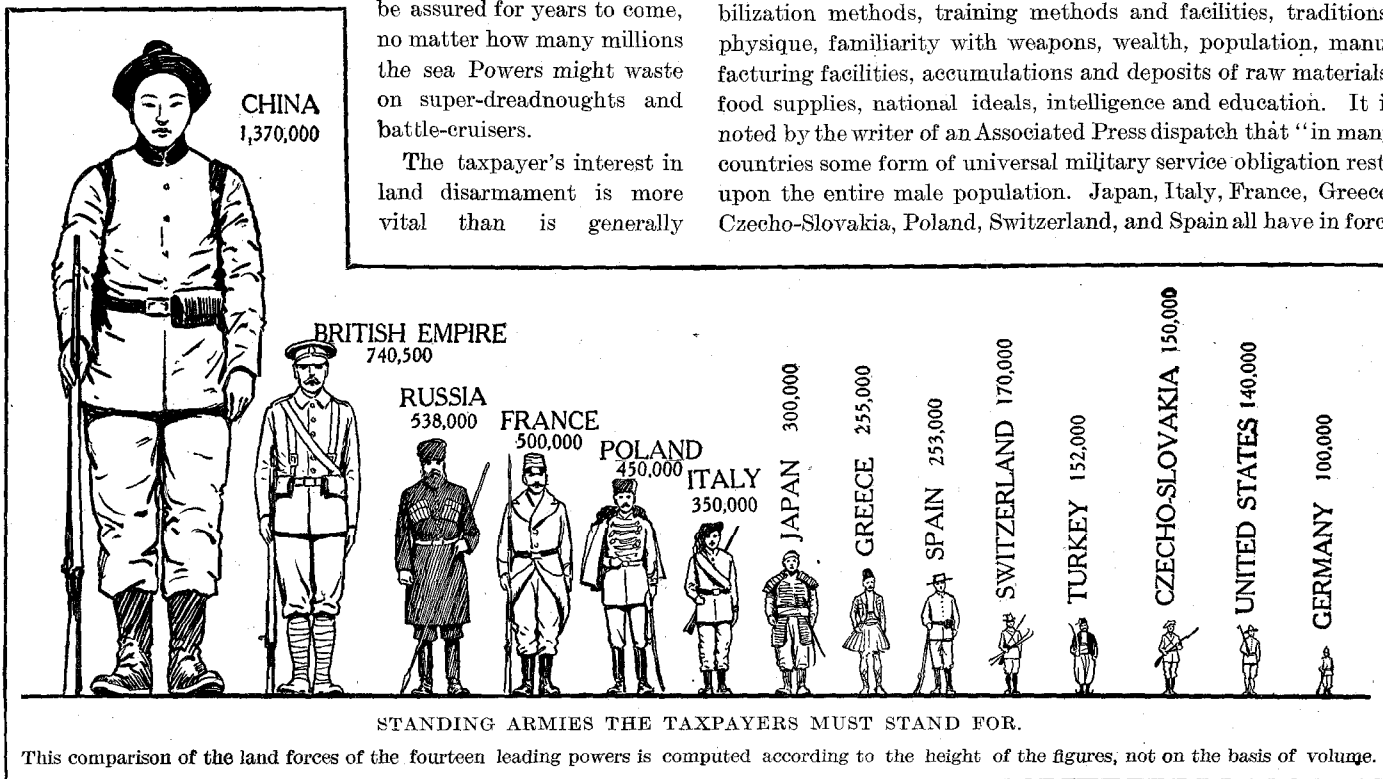
This state of affairs can not be attributed to American extravagance, for it is by no means peculiar to the United States. We think of Britain as a naval Power, but the British expenditure on the navy for 1921-22 is only £82,479,000, while £106,315,000 is being spent on the Army. We hear much of Japan's Navy, but in the year ending with March, 1921, the Japanese Government spent 155,942,414 yen on its Army and only 108,999,738 yen on its Navy. France in 1920 spent 4,236,600,000 francs on the Army to 868,200,000 francs on the Marine.

At present, according to several authorities, the nations of the world are keeping under arms something like 6,000,000 men. Recent Associated Press figures, said to be based upon the latest official data, rank the larger active armies of the world as follows:

China.....	1,370,000	Greece.....	455,000
British Empire.....	740,500	Spain.....	253,000
Russia.....	538,000	Switzerland.....	170,000
France.....	500,000	Turkey.....	152,000
Poland.....	450,000	Czecho-Slovakia.....	150,000
Italy.....	350,000	United States.....	149,000
Japan.....	300,000	Germany.....	100,000

Thus the taxpayers of the world are supporting an army of about six million men, as the small forces of the minor nations bring the total up to that figure. And in addition, The World Almanac reckons up the organized and trained reserve forces of the various nations at 14,000,000, making a grand total of 20,000,000 soldiers.

But in considering the limitation of land armaments the conferees at Washington will have to pay attention to many factors other than the mere number of soldiers actually under arms or subject to training in any country. Such considerations are mobilization methods, training methods and facilities, traditions, physique, familiarity with weapons, wealth, population, manufacturing facilities, accumulations and deposits of raw materials, food supplies, national ideals, intelligence and education. It is noted by the writer of an Associated Press dispatch that "in many countries some form of universal military service obligation rests upon the entire male population. Japan, Italy, France, Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Switzerland, and Spain all have in force



such laws, while among British colonies, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia have similar enactments." France, according to this authority, is estimated to have, beside her half million men in arms "4,270,000 reservists, the majority of them highly trained as a result of war experience." Similarly, "Italy's 350,000 fighting troops are backed by 4,627,000 reservists in an equal state of preparedness, and Japan's 300,000 by another army of 1,845,000 trained and equipped to take the field on short notice."

In contrast with these nations, our own country has practically nothing in the way of organized reserves behind the Regular Army except the National Guard, the movement for the organization for a voluntary reserve having just been begun. The Regular Army to-day is but little larger than it was before the mobilization in 1917, and the National Guard, due to after-war reorganization still in progress, would seem to be weaker. The National Guard's authorized strength is now 180,000, but last year only about a third of that number were actually organized.

A number of interesting facts which supplement the bare list of figures given above, may be gleaned from such reference works as The Statesman's Year Book. While Great Britain is putting her Army on a peace basis as rapidly as possible, the work of diminution is delayed by the necessity of maintaining garrisons on the Rhine, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and in Constantinople, while the after-war clean-up work is still employing thousands of Tommies. The regular peace-time land forces of the British Empire consist of regulars and Territorials, both recruited by volunteering. The original idea was that the Territorial army should serve only at home, but it may now be asked to accept liability for overseas service, subject to the consent of Parliament. There were 100,000 Territorials enrolled last March, but a peace total of about 237,000 is being aimed at. The British Dominions, which did such valiant service during the war, have their separate military establishments. In the Union of South Africa all citizens are liable to military service, and provision is being made by volunteering and by lot for the formation of an active and reserve citizen army, besides a small permanent force. Canada's militia system is now undergoing reorganization with the idea of authorizing a permanent standing force of 6,700 men. In pre-war days Canada had a non-permanent active militia of about 68,000. Australia would seem to be well prepared for trouble. There are only 3,154 permanent troops, but compulsorily trained citizen soldiers, cadets, rifle clubs and reserve officers bring the total up to 268,884. New Zealand's war army has been demobilized, and the training system is again in force which before the war provided a trained reserve of about 30,000 men. All these elements must be considered in estimating Great Britain's military strength, in addition to the millions of British, Dominion, colonial and native war veterans and the potential strength of war-like subject races.

Japan has an extremely elaborate system of universal compulsory military service and reserve armies, but the precise figures as to her reserve strength do not seem to be obtainable. The militant patriotism of the Japanese and the fact that they suffered little from the effects of the war are factors not to be forgotten.

China's modern army dates from 1905. It is supposed to be recruited by a modified conscription, but actually the military governors of the provinces are independent and recruit largely as they see fit. Besides the forces directly under control of the respective governments at Peking and Canton there are thousands of bandit soldiers supporting themselves by loot, while semi-independent generals and governors are burdening their subjects with taxation for the benefit of these informal but expensive armies. The Chinese papers admit that a private disarmament conference which would disarm all the soldiers in China is perhaps the nation's greatest need.

Among the smaller nations not mentioned in the table printed above it should be noted that Roumania has 250,000 soldiers; Jugo-Slavia 150,000; and Lithuania 50,000. Portugal has a

small peace establishment of 30,000 men, with compulsory service and reserves. Greece has compulsory universal service; her Army is now, of course, on a war basis. The Hungarian Army is now in process of reorganization; last year the temporary National Army consisted of about 27,000 men. Austria is allowed an Army of 30,000 men by the Treaty of Versailles. The Turkish Army of 150,000 is, of course, the Nationalist force obeying the orders of the *de facto* government at Angora.

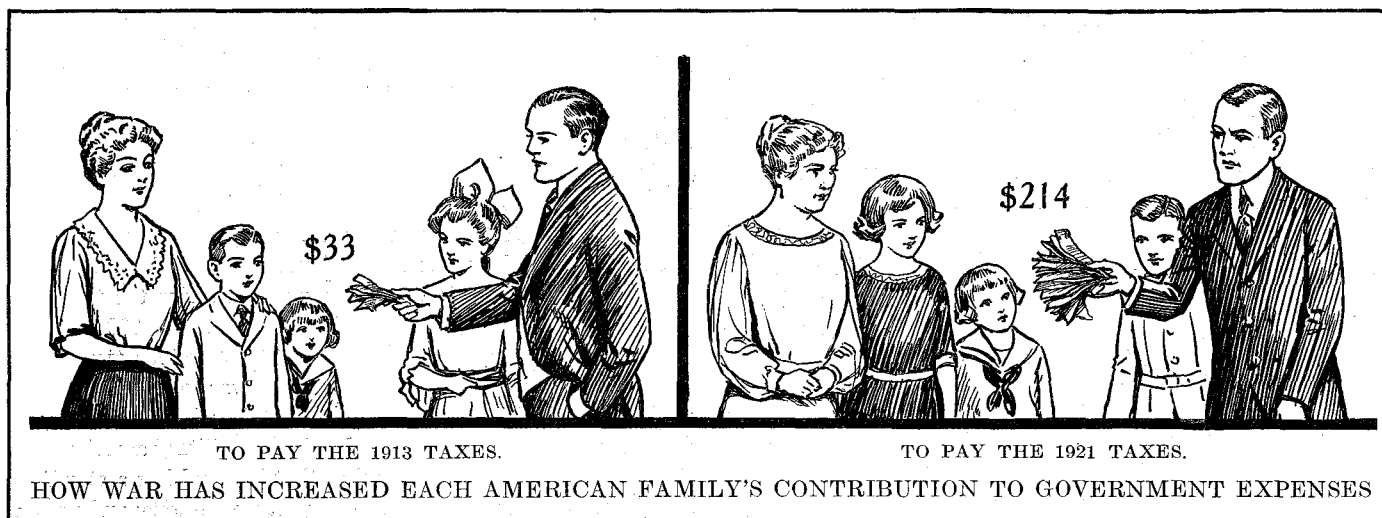
Germany, which had a mobilized army of around 6,000,000 at the time of the armistice, is now compelled under the terms of the Versailles Treaty to keep its Army down to 100,000 without reserves or powers of expansion. It must not be forgotten, however, that these millions of well-trained war veterans are still available, and the Central Government has had considerable difficulty in disbanding some of the civilian military associations.

Turning to the neutrals, we find that Holland has a standing Army of 262,000 men, service being partly voluntary and partly compulsory, and there are available resources of 165,000 trained and 250,000 untrained men. Spain has compulsory military service and a reserve Army. In Scandinavia, Sweden has a small voluntary regular Army plus universal service, with a total peace establishment of 86,500 and a reserve of over 600,000. Norway has a national militia system with a peace strength of 118,500 men and reserves of 282,000. Denmark has a similar system; its Army has a peace strength of 78,000, and it can call up 105,000 reserves. Switzerland has an efficient system of compulsory military service and training. It can call out 200,000 combatants and also an organized Landsturm of 60,000 for auxiliary service.

The armies of many of the smaller American countries have been chiefly employed in settling disputed elections or establishing presidential successions. But several of the large South American nations have comparatively well-trained forces. Brazil has compulsory service; its Army has a total peace strength of 58,000, which can be approximately doubled by mobilization. There is also a Brazilian gendarmerie of 26,000, which can be expanded to 108,000. Chile has a national militia system and an active Army numbering 23,000. Argentina has a like system, with a peace establishment of 20,000, a first-line trained reserve of 150,000, and a special reserve also numbering 150,000.

If we disarm these six million soldiers, if we free these fourteen million reserves from liability to military service, how, it may be asked, shall we preserve the soldierly virtues—courage, obedience, manliness of bearing, comradeship and patriotism? The late William James answered this question eleven years ago. He insisted, in a *McClure's* article quoted in THE LITERARY DIGEST, that the nations can disarm without losing the good there is in war, that we can provide armies of peace, and "a moral equivalent of war." He explained:

"If now—and this is my idea—there were, instead of military conscription, a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *nature*, the injustice would tend to be evened out, and numerous other benefits to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fiber of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently solid and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron-mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their part in the immemorial human warfare against nature; they would tread the earth more proudly; the women would value them more highly; they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation. Such a conscription, with the public opinion that would have required it, and the moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace."



DISARMAMENT IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

DISARMAMENT IS A BUSINESS PROPOSITION. That is why bankers and Chambers of Commerce are just as loud in demanding that the Conference at Washington must succeed as are the preachers and church councils and idealistic statesmen. There are such things as war profits, but the informed business man knows that they are more than balanced by the inevitable after-war slump of industry and the disarrangement of international trade and the years of heavy taxation. While German reparation and inter-ally debts have been supposedly excluded from the agenda of the conference, the financial aspects of world reconstruction can not be entirely ignored by the men who will meet at Washington.

Armament limitation is a practical proposition for the taxpayer. The breadwinner in every average family of five in the United States is paying nearly a hundred dollars a year in taxes solely to pay war debts and to prepare for future wars, and he realizes that the nation's debt has been piled up so hugely by the late war that his children will probably have to keep on paying the bill as long as they live. It is a realization of what reduced armaments mean from the standpoint of dollars and cents that leads the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to send out to business organizations in other cities copies of its resolution attributing "the decline of our foreign trade and the reduced consumption of manufactures and luxuries to excessive taxation and to the exhaustion of capital and credit." This body of Western business men has gone on record as placing its "hope of a substantial and world-wide recovery upon the success of the Conference on Limitation of Armament and urges the Administration to use every effort to bring about a drastic reduction of naval and military expenditure, so that all countries and all classes may be relieved of a staggering burden which threatens some with insolvency and confiscation and all with trade stagnation and unemployment." The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* believes that these are the convictions of business men everywhere. It says:

"Heavy taxation for unproductive purposes restricts consumption, which can only operate to sustain business depression. Foreign trade has diminished since 1920, and, if the countries of Europe continue the struggle to build armaments, its revival becomes uncertain and remote. The belief voiced in the resolution, that the present depression can not be expected to disappear unless armaments, including our own, are substantially diminished, and that trade and credit would speedily recover with limitation of armament and reduction of taxation, directs attention to the advantages business may expect from the Armament Conference, if its aims, which do not contemplate complete disarmament, are even reasonably successful. Altho these possible results would be of immense importance to every order of society, in promoting general prosperity and employment, they are of most immediate concern to business men."

There was a time, remarked Mr. George W. Norris, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, at a recent dinner in that city, when "we congratulated ourselves that we were not as war-ridden Europe, overburdened with debt charges and obliged to give the time of our young men and the resources of taxpayers to great armies and navies." Mr. Norris went on to give figures, which are put into simple form in the chart on the opposite page, to show "how war has not only added enormously to the burdens of European nations but has also radically altered our own position and put us measurably on a par with them." The chart shows how the great Western powers, the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy, have since 1914 trebled their expenses for military purposes, increased their debt charges ninefold, and multiplied their total government expenditure by about six and one-half. This huge increase in expenditures due to the Great War means that every family in the United States must pay out \$97.35 in taxes every year to meet the cost of past and future wars; British, French and Italian taxpayers are hit even harder. This table shows what war is costing the families of the Western world:

GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES PER FAMILY OF FIVE				
	Before War—Total expenditures	Debt expenditures	Military expenditures	All other expenditures
United States.	\$33.00	\$1.15	\$23.10	\$8.75
Great Britain.	102.00	12.90	40.80	48.30
France.....	122.80	31.75	44.20	46.85
Italy.....	70.70	14.05	14.15	42.50
Average.....	\$82.125	\$14.96	\$30.56	\$36.60
After War—				
United States.	\$214.80	\$43.25	\$54.10	\$117.45
Great Britain.	548.90	182.25	109.55	257.10
France.....	633.30	238.80	131.60	262.90
Italy.....	642.65	109.90	212.10	411.65
Average.....	\$509.91	\$143.55	\$104.08	\$262.27
Ratio in increase (6.2)		(9.3)	(3.4)	(7.1)

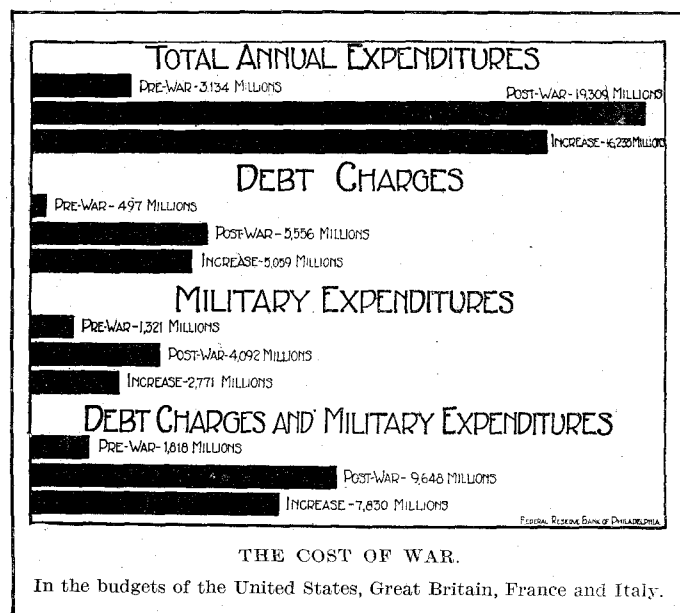
While there is room for economy at Washington, well informed men do not believe that with the increasing functions of government the high cost of governing is likely to be reduced much in the near future. Therefore, says Mr. Norris, as the New York *Evening Post* quotes his Philadelphia speech, "you must choose between a substantial continuance of the present amount of direct taxation and a reduction in our military expenditures." There may be those who say that after all we are rich, and we can stand the high taxes, and Europe can take care of itself. But, declares Mr. Norris, Europe is much worse off than this country, and the time has passed when we can be indifferent to the fate of Europe:

"The governments of Europe owe approximately ten billions to our Government, and the citizens of Europe owe probably five billions to our citizens. Merely as a creditor, laying aside all

moral and economic questions, we have a fifteen-billion stake in their solvency. We can not, however, afford to ignore the economic aspect. They are our principal customers for a very large share, not only of such raw materials as cotton, wheat, copper, coal, oil, and other staples, but for a very considerable amount of our manufactured products. As the situation stands to-day, impoverished and with depreciated currencies, they can not buy from us in anything like normal quantities. Until their buying power is restored we can not hope to see good business and real prosperity in this country.

"We admit that an annual family charge of \$214.80 for government expenditures in this country is hampering our business. What about the similar annual charge of \$548.90 in Great Britain, or of \$633.20 in France? We must help ourselves and we must help them to help themselves in this matter."

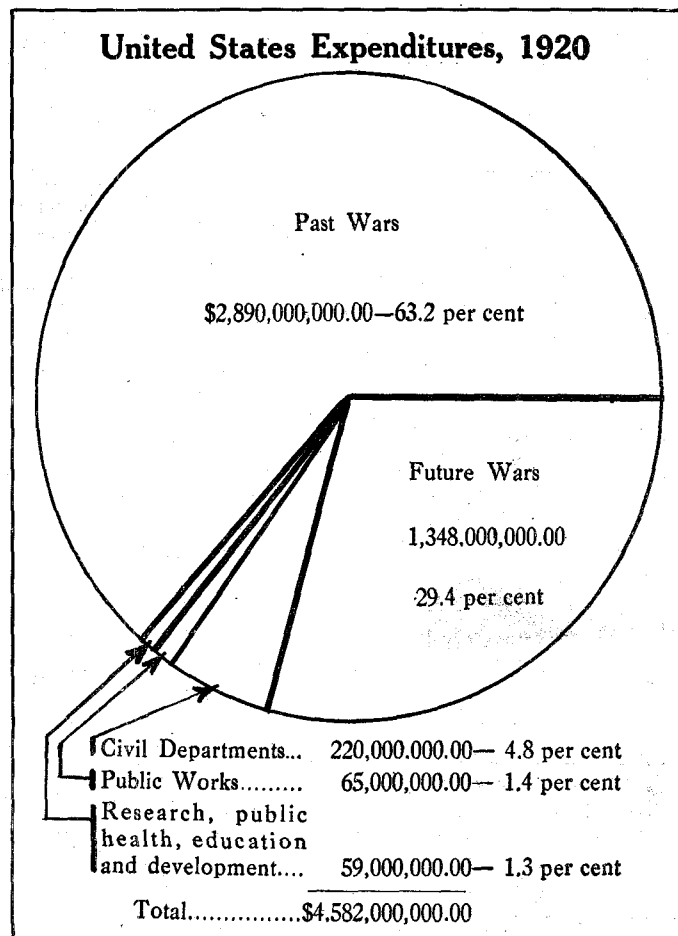
While the world may not be utterly bankrupt to-day because of the enormous and unforeseen expenditures in the Great War, it certainly has plunged head over heels into debt. The national debts of the world now total nearly ten times what they did before the war. In the case of certain nations financial authorities agree that there seems to be no way out except by complete or partial repudiation, or by the confiscation of private property. Roughly speaking, Germany has increased its debt fifty-fold since 1913; the United States, twenty-four-fold; Great Britain, twelve-fold; France, eight-fold; Italy, six-fold. As computed by Mr. O. P. Austin, statistician of the National City Bank of New York, the total national debts of the world, which were \$43,362,300,000 in 1913, now aggregate \$382,634,000,000. Many countries have been unable to shake off the "debt habit," which was forced upon them during the war, so that their debt figures for the current year materially exceed those at the time of the armistice. The following figures showing in dollars at "par of exchange" the indebtedness of the leading belligerents before and after the war



are taken from a tabulation prepared by Mr. Austin for the National City Bank's current monthly circular:

	1913	1921
Austria.....	\$2,152,000,000	\$15,834,000,000
Belgium.....	722,000,000	4,670,000,000
Bulgaria.....	135,000,000	1,432,000,000
Canada.....	483,000,000	2,345,000,000
China.....	969,000,000	1,886,000,000
France.....	6,346,000,000	51,000,000,000
Germany.....	1,194,000,000	71,000,000,000
Hungary.....	1,731,000,000	14,200,000,000
Italy.....	2,921,000,000	18,650,000,000
Portugal.....	948,000,000	1,880,000,000
Roumania.....	317,000,000	5,270,000,000
Russia.....	4,538,000,000	22,774,000,000
United Kingdom.....	3,486,000,000	37,910,000,000
United States.....	1,029,000,000	23,922,000,000
Japan.....	1,242,000,000	1,713,000,000
Turkey.....	676,000,000	2,310,000,000
Greece.....	207,000,000	812,000,000

Of course, the richest nations, those with the largest annual income, can best bear the burden of interest charges on their debts. According to figures compiled by the Bankers Economic Service, the fourteen chief belligerent powers have now mortgaged their pre-war national wealth to the extent of 47 per cent. (as



compared to 5 per cent. before the war) and they must spend 13 per cent. of the pre-war annual national income in the interest charges (as compared with 1 per cent. before the war). France's national debt, as this authority computes it, is 82 per cent. of her pre-war wealth; Great Britain's, 53 per cent.; Italy's, 86 per cent.; Japan's, 13 per cent.; that of the United States, 12 per cent.

Part of the indebtedness of Europe is owing to the United States, largely in the shape of war loans. Practically no interest has been paid on the loans to the Allies, and our Congress has decided to appoint a Commission which will provide for re-funding the debt, probably in the shape of long-term, low-interest bonds. There is a large body of opinion in this country which feels that this indebtedness should be canceled. While the disposal of this debt is not formally on the program for discussion at Washington it seems almost certain that there will be private conferences leading toward some form of re-adjustment. The amounts due us are:

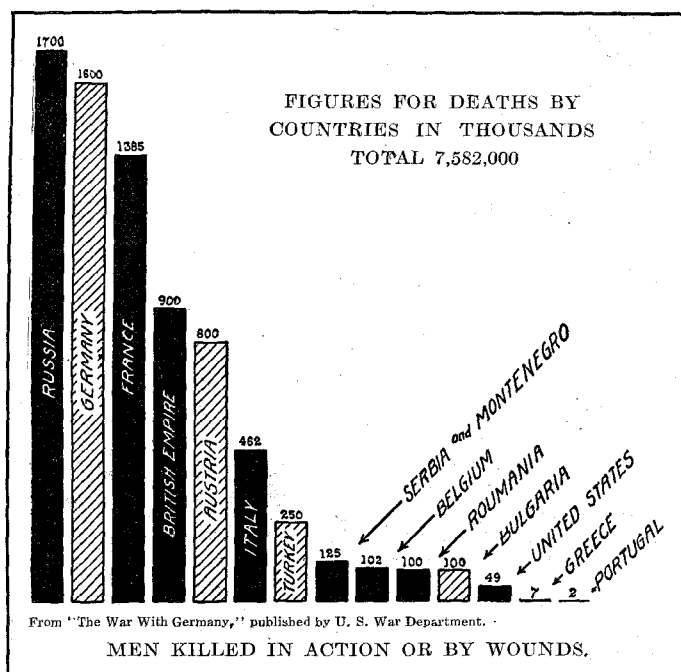
Country	Amount Owed	Country	Amount Owed
Great Britain ..	\$4,166,318,358	Austria	\$24,055,708
France	3,350,762,938	Greece	15,000,000
Italy	1,648,034,050	Esthonia	13,999,145
Belgium	375,280,147	Armenia	11,959,917
Russia	192,601,247	Cuba	9,025,500
Poland	135,661,660	Finland	8,281,926
Czecho-Slovakia.....	91,179,528	Latvia	5,132,287
Serbia	51,153,160	Lithuania	4,981,628
Roumania	36,128,494	Hungary	1,685,835
		Liberia	26,000
Total.....			\$10,141,267,585

American taxpayers are now beginning to realize how large a part of what they hand over to the Government goes for war expenditures. A diagram on this page shows roughly how the Government's spendings were divided in the year 1920.

COST OF THE WORLD WAR IN BLOOD AND GOLD

THE WORLD WAR COST THE UNITED STATES considerably more than \$1,000,000 an hour for over two years. During the last year of the war, 1918, the expenditures of all the warring nations combined was in excess of ten million dollars an hour, according to authoritative figures. The best information at hand gives a total death-roll for all belligerent countries of approximately 10,000,000. Added to these appalling figures, notes the Chamber of Commerce of the

with the Balkan war, he tells us, was less than five million soldiers; the recent war resulted in a death-toll almost exactly double that caused by all the wars of the nineteenth century put together. Generations, perhaps, will be required before the populations of the warring countries can be restored to normal, he thinks; in the case of France it will require about sixty-six years. "The record is an appalling one, and is sufficiently impressive to stand by itself as a memorial of the World War without further comment," asserts Professor Bogart. It is as follows:



United States, there is the reduction in consumption of food, clothing, and all kinds of manufactured materials. Foreign economists, points out this organization of business men, declare that the consumption of more than 300,000,000 persons has been reduced on the average to almost 30 per cent. of what it was previous to the war. They are unable to buy because their money has so little buying power. Furthermore, announces a Copenhagen social organization which has made a study of post-war conditions, the decline in the birth-rate, the increase in the death-rate, and the remarkable change in the proportion of the sexes in European countries indicate that the war cost the world at least forty million lives.

In the opinion of Will Irwin, author of "The Next War," however, "the chief loss of the late war was not the hundreds of billions of dollars of property value destroyed, not yet the thirty million civilians who might be living to-day but for the war, but the ten million soldiers." These, he avers, were the select stock of their generation, unmarried as a rule, and therefore "their blood is wholly lost to the race." Continues Mr. Irwin:

"In the ten million soldiers lies the dead loss. Take France, who suffered most heavily of all. She had nearly a million and three-quarters men killed in action, died of wounds, and missing in action. But that does not tell the whole story. Of her young soldiers between nineteen and thirty-one years of age, about sixty per cent. died in the war. It is doubtful if this glorious young company left nearly so much as an average of one child apiece."

"It will probably be years, possibly generations, before the full cost of the war in suffering and race deterioration can be properly measured," agrees Prof. E. L. Bogart, of the University of Illinois, in a report on the costs of the World War, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The combined loss of life resulting from all the important wars of the nineteenth century, beginning with the Napoleonic and ending

CASUALTIES OF THE WORLD WAR. 1914-1918

Country	Known Dead	Seriously Wounded	Otherwise Wounded	Prisoners or Missing
United States...	107,284a	43,000	148,000	4,912
Great Britain...	807,451b	617,740	1,441,394	64,907
France...	1,427,800b	700,000	2,344,000	453,500
Russia...	2,762,064	1,000,000	3,950,000	2,500,000
Italy...	507,160	500,000	462,196	1,359,000
*Belgium...	267,000	40,000	100,000	10,000
Serbia...	707,343	322,000	28,000	100,000
Rumania...	339,117	200,000	—	116,000
*Greece...	15,000	10,000	30,000	45,000
*Portugal...	4,000	5,000	12,000	200
*Japan...	300	—	907	3
	6,938,529	3,437,740	8,516,497	4,653,522
Germany...	1,611,104	1,600,000	2,183,143	772,522
Austria-Hungary	911,000	850,000	2,150,000	443,000
Turkey...	436,924	107,772	300,000	103,731
Bulgaria...	101,224d	300,000	852,399	10,825
	3,060,252	2,857,772	5,485,542	1,330,078
Grand Total...	9,998,771	6,295,512	14,002,039	5,983,600

* Unofficial

a Includes deaths at home and in Expeditionary Force.

b Includes colonial casualties.

Of every hundred American soldiers and sailors who took part in the war with Germany, two were killed or died of disease during the period of hostilities, according to War Department figures. To the losses of all nations from death or wounds must be added those resulting from disease and pestilence, privation, hardship, physical exhaustion and similar causes. From a purely economic standpoint, maintains Professor Bogart, "the presence of a large number of diseased and maimed ex-soldiers entails a greater burden than the loss of life itself."

The direct and indirect cost of the World War, with its different kinds of losses to neutral and belligerent alike, may never be known. The break-up of States like Austria-Hungary, Russia, and even Germany, and the limited participation of some of the smaller belligerents, have made it all but impossible to secure complete figures. There is, for instance, a difference of about fifty billion dollars between the figures of Crammond, the well-known English statistician, who gives the final direct cost as \$210,000,000,000, and the figures of the Bankers Trust Company, shown in the accompanying table. Even Professor Bogart admits that "it is impossible to say to what extent these various estimates are comparable, or just what is included in the total." Continues this economist:

"It should be noted that all the figures thus far given cover only the direct money outlays of the countries involved, and do not take into account the indirect costs, such as the destruction of property, the depreciation of capital, loss of production, interruption of trade, and similar items. It has been estimated that these would amount to as much as the direct costs. If this estimate, which was made early in the war and is undoubtedly too high, be accepted, it would bring the total cost to all the belligerents to about \$370,000,000,000. And in this staggering total there are not included the expenditures or losses of neutral nations, which have been very real and in some cases very

serious, nor the loss of human life, nor of subsequent burdens such as pensions and allowances.

"On the other hand, certain deductions should be made which will reduce somewhat the real costs. In the first place, not all of the war expenditure is pure loss. Soldiers are fed, clothed and housed at the expense of the government, and the bill is paid out of taxes or loans. Other expenses are positively productive, such as the building of railways or merchant vessels. And in the second place, it is quite obvious that a partial explanation of the costs of the war lies in the depreciation of the money unit. Measured in dollars, the expenditures were mounting steadily and rapidly. Measured in terms of service and commodities, the increase was much less rapid. It has been estimated by the editor of the *Statist* that the net cost of the war to the belligerents is about one-half of its total costs."

It is still less satisfactory to attempt to determine property losses in the devastated areas of Belgium, France, Russia, Poland, Roumania, and other countries. Estimates vary in each instance by many millions. Professor Bogart has endeavored to arrive at a fair estimate in the following table.

Belgium	\$7,000,000,000
France	10,000,000,000
Russia	1,250,000,000
Poland	1,500,000,000
Serbia, Albania, Montenegro	2,000,000,000
East Prussia, Austria, Ukraine	1,000,000,000
Italy	2,710,000,000
Roumania	1,000,000,000
British Empire	1,750,000,000
Germany	1,750,000,000
	\$29,960,000,000

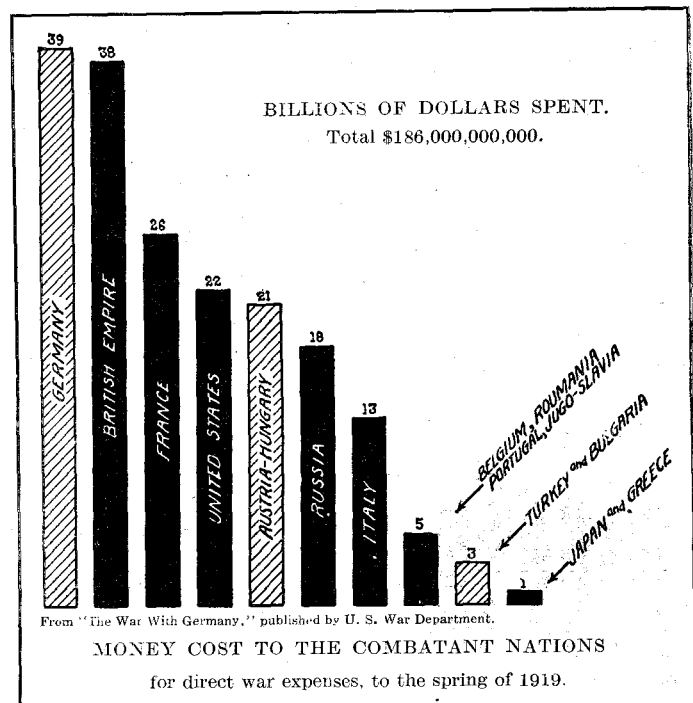
France furnishes the outstanding example of the amount of destruction that can be accomplished by invading troops. It is said that about 8,000 square miles of agricultural lands were laid waste; and that 500,000 buildings were damaged, of which 250,000 were completely destroyed.

In addition to the direct money outlay and the losses resulting from the destruction of human life and property, notes Professor Bogart, another indirect loss must be chronicled—the loss of production of the 20,000,000 men actually in the field during the whole period of the war. As the average annual productive capacity of each man is reckoned at \$500, the total loss of production would amount to \$45,000,000,000. It may be generations before the warring nations will be able to regain their prewar economic status, believes this authority.

Finally, there is to be considered the vast sums of money voluntarily contributed to war relief. Only the English speaking belligerents have submitted figures, and from these we learn that the United States collected and expended \$625,015,028:

Canada, \$91,750,000; Great Britain, \$87,112,000; and Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, and India \$69,185,000, or a grand total of \$873,062,028.

Neutral nations were put to additional expense in guarding their frontiers and maintaining their neutrality. Holland is said to have spent \$672,000,000 in this manner; Switzerland, \$250,000,000; Sweden, \$429,800,000; Norway, \$130,000,000; and Denmark, \$90,000,000. Other countries spent in the



neighborhood of \$1,750,000,000 in maintaining their neutrality, according to Professor Bogart's estimates. Thus he figures the total indirect costs of the World War:

Property losses on land	\$29,960,000,000
Shipping and cargo	6,800,000,000
Loss of production	45,000,000,000
War relief (including all countries not listed)	1,000,000,000
Loss to neutrals	1,750,000,000
Total indirect costs	\$84,510,000,000

The total direct costs are given in the Bankers Trust Company table. The grand total of the World War's cost is so staggering as to defy the imagination.

MONEY COST OF THE GREAT WAR—1914-1919							
In dollars at par of exchange and adjusted to the 1913 purchasing power of money.							
ENTENTE ALLIES	At par of currencies	Adjusted to 1913 purchasing power of currencies	Per cent. total	Population in 1920	Cost per capita 1913 basis	Pre-war national wealth	Percentage of national wealth 1913 basis.
France	\$41,000,000,000	\$11,100,000,000	17.8	38,000,000	\$292	\$60,000,000,000	18.5
Italy	16,524,000,000	4,105,000,000	6.5	36,000,000	114	23,000,000,000	17.8
Russia*	20,500,000,000	7,913,000,000	12.7	170,000,000	47	60,000,000,000	13.9
United Kingdom	50,000,000,000	20,064,000,000	32.2	46,000,000	440	73,000,000,000	27.5
United States	33,456,000,000	14,969,000,000	24.0	106,000,000	141	210,000,000,000	7.1
All other active participants	8,500,000,000	4,250,000,000	6.8	86,000,000	49	30,000,000,000	14.1
Total	\$169,980,000,000	\$62,401,000,000	100.0	482,000,000	\$129	\$456,000,000,000	13.6
CENTRAL POWERS							
Germany	\$54,400,000,000	\$17,500,000,000	60.13	61,000,000	\$287	\$80,000,000,000	21.9
All other	36,300,000,000	11,600,000,000	39.87	79,000,000	147	38,000,000,000	30.5
Total	\$90,700,000,000	\$29,100,000,000	100.00	140,000,000	\$208	\$118,000,000,000	24.6
GRAND TOTAL	\$260,680,000,000	\$91,501,000,000		622,000,000	\$147	\$574,000,000,000	15.9
*Ceased to be a participant in October, 1917.							

From a study made by the Bankers' Trust Company for a forthcoming book entitled, "France in the Great War and To-day."

PRESS OF THE WORLD ON THE ARMS CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON WILL BE THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD during the Arms Congress. There will be decided whether the civilized peoples of the earth are to abjure the arbitrament of war, and the battle-ship and siege gun are to become eventually obsolete as the Roman catapult. We may know the naval power of this country, the military power of that, the strategical situation of one and the other, and their resources in men and material; but neither the deliberators in council nor the man in the street can see the way clear to the high objective of the Washington Conference unless the psychology of the participating nations be revealed and made familiar. We must know not only our own mind, but we must have full acquaintance with the viewpoint of the countries beyond our boundaries, and the best and most immediate source of such knowledge is their press.

Therefore THE LITERARY DIGEST here presents opinions on the Arms Congress from publications throughout the world; and especially in those countries most vitally concerned in the outcome. We begin with a reflection of the composite press mind of the British Empire, in whose far-flung "dominion over palm and pine" we shall find moving evidences of a spontaneous entente between the English-speaking peoples of the earth.

We shall discover also that they are keen to see friction contacts between America and Japan smoothed away, altho Canada and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have their own problems of Asiatic immigration. The well-informed London *Westminster Gazette*, for instance, believes that "an amicable settlement between America and Japan is the key to the whole Pacific problem," and tells us that "nothing America agrees to is likely to be opposed by any British representative." If America and Japan settle their disputes, the way should be open to "a general concordat in which British and Japanese relations will be included and thence to a limitation of naval armaments which will both relieve the taxpayers of the different countries and immensely diminish the chance of war." Says the London *Daily Telegraph*:

"It is a strange irony of fate that as soon as the problem of the Atlantic was solved, as far as Great Britain and Germany were concerned, an equally momentous problem emerged from the Pacific. It may threaten a world catastrophe if not dealt with at Washington in a spirit very different from that in which the former was handled. If no satisfactory understanding is reached there seems little chance of escaping new rivalry in armaments between Japan and the United States for the mastery of the Pacific. It will be seen that the whole future of China is at stake, and China's future is of vital interest to the nations which depend upon her markets as an outlet for their manufactures."

The mass of American citizens do not realize that the size of navies is precisely related to the character of foreign policy, says the London *New Statesman*, consequently before any program of disarmament "can come anywhere near the region of actuality, the Governments must know where they are in respect of the danger zones." This weekly thinks President Harding, "having been swept into the movement, is disposed to put his trust rather in a coordination of sentiment than in the creation of an exact understanding and the establishment of a new basis, especially in the Pacific, upon which a policy of organic peace and economy can be built." Nevertheless, it finds reassurance in the fact that "in Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root, the United States

has a pair of representatives who, political realists both, are entirely sound in their conception of the conjoint responsibility and opportunity of the English-speaking Powers."

Japan and the United States "may be able to agree upon a limitation of their naval programs" remarks the London *Saturday Review*, and this is the possibility the American Government has set out to explore. As for Britain—

"Our own interest in it is clear. If a limit is set to sea-power elsewhere, a limit can be set to our own; the position is precisely what it has always been. There are questions of detail, such as the necessity of bringing our own Navy up to date in point of equipment; but the principle is plain and unalterable."

But it is a mistake to consider that the Conference is to conclude an agreement to limit or disband armies and navies, declares the ultra-Tory London *Morning Post*, for "such arrangements have been made before, and have always ended in failure." Now the "true purpose" of the Conference is

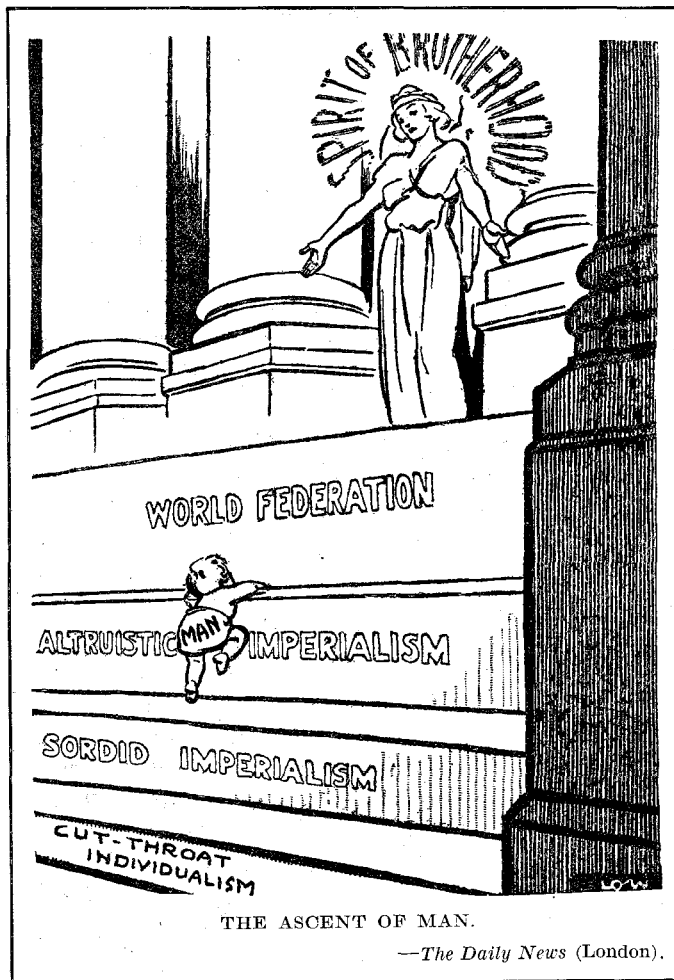
to "remove the causes which make armaments necessary" and it "should be called the 'Conference to Remove Enmity.'"

Meanwhile the naval correspondent of this daily believes that "whatever may be the outcome of the Conference, both the United States and Japan are too far committed to call a halt before the major part of their programs are completed," and he explains as to Britain that:

"Our program is very modest considering the extent of our maritime interests, and is the minimum which the Government must concede to the Navy without placing that service in the position of a man with one arm tied behind his back."

Why split hairs about naval power, wonders the London *Pall Mall and Globe*, now that Great Britain is "no longer an island protected by an inviolate sea," for—

"The seas are no longer barriers, even to those who possess invincible navies. Those who challenged our sea power were known and marked; those who, in the days to come, may challenge our air power, may be unknown and unsuspect. Nor are other nations in better case, except that they have not lost what we have lost—the strategic advantage of an island base."



—The Daily News (London).



Henceforward, when armaments and their reduction come up for discussion, statesmen and soldiers will ask how the power of the 'plane can be gaged and kept within reasonable limits. The giant merchant 'plane of the future will be a valuable asset of commerce, but it will always be a potential weapon of war, and to our mind it is this question of the bomb-dropper which is by far the most difficult of all our disarmament problems."

The London *Outlook* believes it is Britain's duty to "assist in resolving the problems of the Far East so as to remove the threat of war between Japan and the United States" and it continues:

"Every effort will no doubt be made by America to save Japan's face, to

avoid giving offense to that proud and gallant people; it may be hazarded that Washington statesmen have not now in mind the desirability of persuading Britain to denounce the alliance. Rather, we imagine, they hope that in conference it will become clear to Britain, and to Japan, that our Imperial interests in the East are those of the United States, and that Japan may realize the impossibility of securing our economic or political support for any aims in China or Siberia that run counter to American policy. In this happy event, a change in the policy of the Island Kingdom might not be too much to expect. So would be made possible a three-power understanding, superseding but not necessarily supplanting our alliance with Japan, and basing on the open door principle an agreed policy that would automatically end building rivalry and do away with the one menace existing to-day of war between any of the greater nations."

The London *Sunday Times* tells us that "it is the deliberate opinion of the British Government, that if the Conference is to be a success we must not begin by antagonizing Japan, or treating her as a young Germany preparing to commit an international crime, but must deal with her as an equal every whit as honorable as ourselves. That Japan at present is an equal as a naval power is a fact that it is prudent to remember." The London *Daily Chronicle*, which is sometimes called Lloyd George's newspaper, argues that Japan must be treated as a friend and equal, and expresses regret over the denunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which has been suggested so prominently, adding:

"That alliance will not be carried on in its present form. Its place may have to be taken by an agreement signed by the Powers primarily concerned, including

China, but it would be a mistake to begin by denouncing a treaty which gives a good summary of the policy of America and Great Britain in China, and which, with all its imperfections, has done much good."

The London *Socialist Daily Herald* is skeptical, and publishes a dispatch from its diplomatic correspondent who declares that it is "useless to blink the fact that so far as disarmament is concerned the Conference will fail," and he adds:

"Failure will have an ugly sequel, for it will be seized upon by the 'preparedness' party in the United States as a reason for a big naval program, and then there will be an armament race like that from 1900 to 1914, which may result the same way.

"I believe that the Far East Conference probably will raise more trouble than it settles, and it will likely devise an agreement by the robber Powers for a division of the spoils of China. There are a hundred tendencies working toward an Anglo-American war, and I believe present statesmen can do nothing effective to check them."

This writer quotes an unnamed "American observer" as predicting in 1919 that "unless labor secures power there will be war between America and England within five years," and he avers that the "failure of the Washington Conference will be a step toward the fulfilment of this prediction." The London *Nation*, an advanced Liberal weekly, sees ominous results should the Conference fail, for in such case British relations with America, which are "good, but scarcely intimate," will be made worse, and "naval competition that follows may resemble our recent race with Germany in the passions thus engendered and the disasters heralded." This weekly demands cancellation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which serves to cover Japan's reckless career of expansion, and adds: "If we are going to compensate America in the Far East, it must be upon a wholly new basis."

The London *Labor News* declares that "naval power and not good-will is what the Government regards as necessary to enable Britain to keep itself alive, and those who accept that view are to be British representatives at Washington." This weekly tells us that organized British labor recently demanded not only the scrapping of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but a voice in the Washington Conference, and it declares that "if only representatives



NORWEGIAN CHAFF.

JOHN BULL: "Yes. As soon as we have built five new cruisers we can disarm some of the obsolete ones."

—Hvepsen (Christiania).

of the old governing caste are to have a voice, the Conference is doomed to failure because of its lack of moral authority." The London *Sunday Observer* refuses to consider the chance of failure of the Conference, and says "success in Washington means success elsewhere," and it expresses the hope that the Conference "will design a pattern for disarmament in the Pacific which



THAT DEAR GERMANY.

GERMANY: "Surely, France, you haven't the slightest doubt of my unchanging friendship, have you?"

FRANCE: "Oh, no—not the slightest—on'y sometimes I wonder what you would be like if you were my enemy."

—*La Democratie Nouvelle* (Paris).

will be practical in the other seas—and some day even on the land of Europe, where the curse of militarism has been heaviest."

BRITISH DOMINIONS

The crux of the whole business is the Pacific question, remarks the Manchester *Guardian*, in which Australia, New Zealand and Canada are "directly and urgently interested," and altho the interest of South Africa "may not be so immediate, she has a very definite concern with anything that so closely affects the cause of British foreign policy," and it adds:

"As a delegation the British can only have one policy, and the different shades of opinion among its members will have to be harmonized. It will be all to the good if the Dominions have every means of securing full consideration for their own special standpoints."

CANADA

On this point, the Toronto *Globe* believes it is important that the representatives of the Dominions "should feel themselves absolutely free to express their opinions, even where they disagree with Mr. Lloyd George or with each other," and it proceeds:

"It is suggested that this might be done by the British representatives getting together occasionally and agreeing to say the same thing in the Conference, as members of a government do. But this should be done in such a way as not to interfere with the free play of mind with mind that is so important in such a conference. The British representatives should not seem to be issuing manifestoes instead of conversing in a free and flexible way.

"There is, it is true, a certain objection to British representatives disagreeing with each other openly in face of the American, Japanese, and other members of the Conference, and they should endeavor to arrive at an understanding upon vital points. But in the general discussions there must be a certain flexibility, a certain give-and-take, suggestions made and considered, modifications proposed; the members of the Conference should act as men working upon plastic clay, not upon marble."

The Toronto paper adds that in proposing the Conference, President Harding has the "support of a precedent from which nothing but good has followed" and it recalls the Rush-Bagot Convention, following the War of 1812-1814, which was signed in Washington on April 28, 1817. By this agreement,

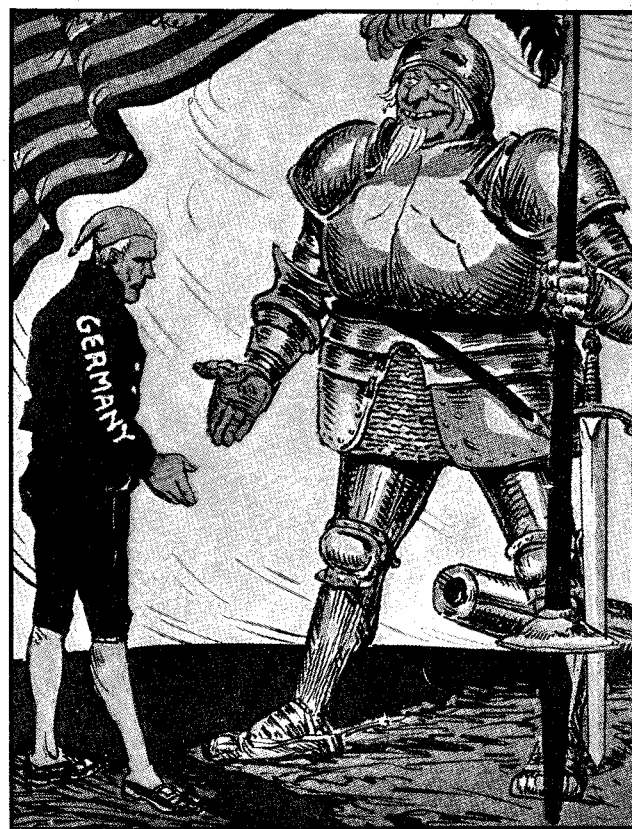
"Canada and the United States have lived side by side in peace and amity for more than a century without the 'vast expense' and 'danger of collision' which, as President Madison wrote, would follow naval rivalry on the Great Lakes."

The Toronto *Mail and Empire* believes the British delegation "will be the balance wheel, and may have a decisive influence in settling the main issues as between the United States and Japan"; and the Winnipeg *Manitoba Free Press* says:

"Agreement on Pacific policies by the British nations, the United States, Japan and China, would lead, naturally, to a very large measure of naval disarmament; and this could be agreed upon by the three naval Powers concerned without regard to other world problems and irrespective of the general views of disarmament held by the other great Powers. No European nation is likely to develop an itch for naval supremacy. With the elimination of the German Navy and the killing, for the time being, of Germany's idea that her future is on the water, the way is open for a naval undertaking which will result in a great limitation in armament."

But in extending the scope of the Conference to land armaments, "the tangled maze of European complications" is embraced, and this newspaper proceeds:

"It is, perhaps, just as well that the people of the United



A GERMAN JAB.

UNCLE SAM: "Well, there's no use in inviting you, Michel, you haven't got the clothes."

—*Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

States should have it demonstrated to them on their own soil in a manner not to be misunderstood that if they want peace in the world something must be done to make real peace—and with it disarmament—possible in Europe. The Americans have been going on the theory that they could cut out Europe and still exercise a potent influence over foreign affairs; but they are about

to be thoroughly disillusioned, if indeed this enlightenment has not already come to them."

As secret diplomacy "breeds war, misunderstanding, and suspicion" declares the Vancouver *Sun*, the Conference must be "an open meeting" and "not a secret conclave of the professional politicians of these countries." But no "open" Conference is possible, in the view of the Montreal *Daily Star*, which predicts that whatever covenants are arrived at in Washington will be about as "openly" considered as they were in Paris, and it points out that:

"The Ministers who sit down at such a Conference are the creatures of the popular will at home. If they must make every tentative proposition, present every argument, yield every point and accept every compromise within easy ear-shot of their people at home, they will always be addressing the gallery and never feel free to enter upon that form of frank give-and-take discussion which every business man conducts every day in connection with his private affairs. A banker or a merchant might as well conduct his business on the front steps as to ask a statesman to conduct his country's business under a battery of reporters and 'movie' operators."

In the judgment of the Windsor *Border Cities Star*, there has been "too much preliminary jockeying" regarding the Conference, and "too many indications that the statesmen are playing the old game in the old way," and it observes:

"The world is not looking for excuses why there should be no disarmament, having many and sound reasons why armaments should be thrown into the discard as speedily as possible. The choice of Armistice Day as the date of the opening of the Conference was a happy one, for it links up the occasion with the great events which made the Conference necessary and which converted the people to the idea."

Says the Montreal *Gazette*:

"It is doubtful if in any great European country to-day a Government that proposed to enter on war again would survive the outburst of popular protest. The people are carrying all they can bear; and the state of Russia is an indication of what may happen to a country when its government lays upon the camel's back the straw that makes the burden no longer bearable."

Now the great question before the Conference is "whether or not there shall be war between our Empire and the United States" declares the Vancouver *Daily World*, which adds that the question is greater "because statesmen dare discuss it only in whispers," and we read on:

"Of course this terrible thing is not inevitable. We hope and believe that the Conference will iron away some of the irritations and provide a working basis for peaceful cooperation between the two peoples who hold in their hands the future of the white race. If they war, what we know as civilization will almost come to an end, and the world, with dust and ashes on its head, will enter upon another 'dark ages' until a new civilization, possibly yellow, or brown, or black, shall revive it again."

AUSTRALIA

In Australia the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* stresses the point that "the object of the approaching international gathering is not disarmament, but a limitation of armament," and proceeds:

"If war must be in the future, it will be conducted with agencies far more deadly than any now in the hands of man. It may be, and this is the best perhaps that can be hoped, that if man will not cease fighting through good-will he will desist from it through fear of its overwhelming horror. Thus war will sting itself to death. It must do so if civilization is to be saved."

The Adelaide *Advertiser* points out that:

"Even disarmament does not preclude resort to war in the last resort by maddened disputants. But disarmament is a necessary part of the peace movement, and the hope of its most earnest advocates will be that if the Powers can make it the subject of agreement they will be in a better position to treat their differences as matters for bloodless litigation. . . .

"But a White Australia policy is not to be defended by Acts of

Parliament or prohibition decrees, of which as little notice would be taken by a determined invader as was taken of the 'scrap of paper' that so lamentably failed to keep the Germans out of Belgium. The true safeguard is an adequate supply of ships and men and guns, and a disposition to show the world that Australia is really in earnest about its white policy."

It seems a far easier matter to provoke the color war in the Pacific, according to the Sydney *Morning Herald*, than to arrange joint understanding between the three Pacific naval Powers whose interests run together in so many places. Yet nothing is surer than that Japan, America and Britain would regret such a war, and it continues:



"The American nation is made up, past all amendment, of black as well as white people; the western seaboard will soon be, if it is not already, committed beyond recall to the toleration of an Asiatic section of Americans. The United States is by deliberate choice a mixed nation, mixed more than any other population in the world under one government. And in warning to the Japanese if Japan must fight America because of insult to her 'nationals' in California, surely by the same reasoning every other nation in the world would eventually have to go to America's help against Japan, for every nation has some human interest in the welfare of the United States. In the projected war neither side's navy could, whatever its victory, blockade the other and starve it out; the war, that is to say, while confined to the sea, would be indefinite, and the normal development of naval victory in military invasion of the defeated enemy would in this case be a fruitless effort. The transport of any adequate army across the world's widest stretch of ocean would surely tax either Japan or America beyond her strength. Each country has far too big a man-power to fear such an attack. The very futility of a Japanese-American war is the best argument for a triple agreement between the three Pacific naval Powers for arbitration of disputes. An arbitration treaty would do more to relieve the rivalry in naval shipbuilding than any other sort of agreement. So much of the original purpose of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has disappeared that the chief remaining virtue in it may be said to lie in the avoidance thereby of an armament race between the British Empire and Japan. We may yet see a lasting arbitration treaty spring out of it. If the alliance be shaped towards that end, why should not America enter into it, too?"

The Melbourne *Herald* considers the Washington Conference
(Continued on page 55)

WORLD LEADERS ON DISARMAMENT

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS," declares Arthur Henderson, British Labor leader in Parliament, "is the first step toward general disarmament, and it is an imperative economic necessity as well as a mutual obligation for the strongest Powers to take the initiative." The exact manner in which this is done remains to be seen. Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy, of the British Navy, maintains that "the best that could possibly happen to the world is this: At a certain hour on a certain day and month, every ship of war belonging to every nation should be taken into deep water, and sunk." "There is no more inconceivable folly," agrees Herbert Hoover, "than this continued riot of expenditure on battle-ships at a time when great masses of humanity are dying of starvation." "Piling up of armaments, which ought to have assured peace, has produced war, revolution and ruin. It is causing bankruptcy and anarchy, and if governments, after the lesson of the war, do not agree simultaneously to limit their armaments, they commit suicide," avers Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, ex-president of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Other opinions on the advisability of limiting armaments throughout the world follow:

PRESIDENT HARDING—"I believe with all my heart that we are coming to a time when we are going to diminish the burdens of armament. I think there will be less of armies and less of navies. I wish it with all my heart. But there can never come a time when there is not a requisite agency for the maintenance of law and authority, and for national defense.

"It is perfectly futile to think there may never be a conflict, when you stop to consider that in the two thousand years of Christian civilization and four thousand more of pagan civilization concerning which we are informed, we have only lately come to a real civilized state of armed warfare."

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, ENGLISH PREMIER—"There is no quarter of the world where we desire more greatly to maintain peace and fair play for all nations, and to avoid competition of armaments than in the Pacific and in the Far East.

"The United States, Japan, the British Empire and China are primarily concerned in having a complete understanding with regard to the Pacific. I am hopeful that the Conference will result in a pact of peace that will make the Pacific a real pacific ocean. I also trust that it will lead to something beyond mere resolutions in favor of disarmament. It makes no difference what leagues or associations nations may form. If nations arm against each other for war, war will ensue in the end."

ARISTIDE BRIAND, FRENCH PREMIER—"France will seek with her Allies a means of eliminating the crushing armaments from which the peoples of the world suffer, always keeping in mind the conditions of security she must have."

PREMIER TAKASHI HARA, OF JAPAN, in the *New York World*:

"Peace in the Pacific is the insistent cry of the Japanese people. The whole nation is striving to make still closer the already firmly cemented ties of friendship with the great people across the Pacific, despite the efforts of malicious mischief-makers on either side to create prejudice and misunderstanding.

"Japan's acceptance of President Harding's invitation was actuated by her urgent desire for the heartiest cooperation with the United States in order to realize the lofty ideals which the President had in view. I esteem it also as a supreme opportunity—hopes of which have been cherished for years—to remove all causes of misunderstanding between our two nations.

"Japan is ready to concur in any project for the equitable reduction of armaments which is consistent with national security, and sincerely hopes that the glorious enterprise initiated by your President may be crowned with signal success. In this I am firmly convinced that I am the faithful mouthpiece of the sentiment and expressions of the entire Japanese people."

POPE BENEDICT XV—"Public opinion of all countries regards disarmament as the sole effective and sincere means of realizing a durable peace and preventing universal financial ruin."

SIR ROBERT L. BORDEN, former Premier of Canada—"Continued competition in armaments assuredly brings nations to the path that leads to the ultimate disintegration of existing civilization, the foundations of which have already been rudely shaken. How can it be otherwise if, to those who ask for bread, civilization gives armaments? In the boundary between Canada and the United States, unfortified for more than a century, save by a common trust which has never been violated, and in the intimate friendship which that just confidence has maintained and strengthened, we have given to humanity a lesson which ought never to be forgotten in the determination of this supreme question."

GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING—"The world does not seem to learn from experience. It would appear that the lessons of the past six years should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. But no one nation can reduce armaments unless all do.

"The United States is not an aggressive nation. We want no territory, and we have no designs on other people. If other nations have the same attitude, it seems unreasonable not to believe that all would be willing to prove it by consenting to limit armaments. Unless some such move be made, we may well ask ourselves whether civilization does really reach a point where it begins to destroy itself, and whether we are thus doomed to go down through destructive war to darkness and barbarism."

JULES J. JUSSERAND, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES—"France wishes the Conference to succeed, and we shall do everything we can to make it a success."

VICE-ADMIRAL KATO, OF THE JAPANESE NAVY—"Each day I am impressed more and more with the profound significance of the Conference. It is no longer a question for argument that the present competition of nations in their armaments not only places hindrance upon peaceful progress, but also creates serious danger of provoking wars."

SIR FREDERICK MAURICE, K. C. B.—"If you wish for peace, prepare for peace, is the great lesson of the Great War. Armaments are ineffective as insurance against war, because increase of armaments in one State produces corresponding increase in other States. Then comes the temptation to make use of these powerful weapons. Armaments can be reduced only by general friendly agreement, and this preparation for peace is only possible if the public demand for peace and for reduction of non-productive expenditure is sufficiently strong."

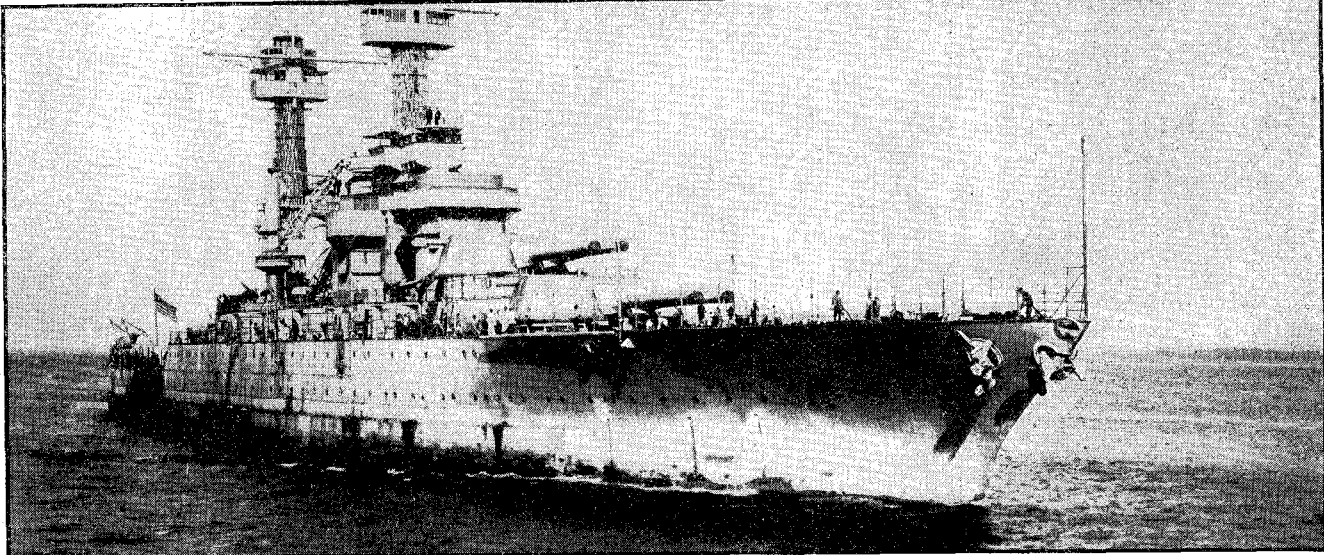
PRESIDENT HIBBEN, OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY—"The power of Christianity and the progress of civilization are at stake. The peace of the world hangs upon the decisions of the Washington Conference."

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH (REP. IDAHO), who originally proposed a conference with Great Britain and Japan on a reduction of navies—"It is said that in order to have peace and disarmament we must first remove the causes of war. I agree; we must remove the causes of war in so far as we can. Let us begin, however, with the most prolific cause of war, incitement to war, a constant invitation to war, always a temptation to war, to wit, huge navies—competition in naval armaments.

"So long as nations rise and fall, so long as peoples are imbued with a national spirit and are of different races, so long as commercial rivalry obtains, there will be differences between nations; nations will have controversies. We can never hope to settle them all and see no more arise. But suppose that every battle-ship which Japan has was at the bottom of the sea; suppose that every battle-ship—those obsolete floating palaces which we are building—was at the bottom of the sea and likewise every battle-ship belonging to Great Britain was at the bottom of the sea, would the United States, Great Britain and Japan be any less fitted to sit down and discuss Yap or to discuss the liberation of China? Would either or any of the Powers be less secure; indeed, would not reason and justice and right be more likely to prevail?

"The most hoary-headed lie which ever tormented the human race is the old, worn-out lie—proved false a thousand times—that great armies and great navies are assurances of peace."

ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE (RET.), OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, (quoted by Senator King)—"All this talk of disarmament is absolutely and scientifically wrong. It is not in accordance with the teachings of history. It is euphemistic to start with, and any argument that can be made against unpreparedness can be made against disarmament."



From the U. S. Navy Department, Washington.

ONE AMERICAN BATTLE-SHIP, WITH AMMUNITION, COSTS \$43,000,000.

"The five principal naval Powers," says *The World's Work*, "now have about \$2,500,000,000 worth of ships of this class alone, about one billion dollars' worth of destroyers, and about one billion dollars' worth of submarines, besides hundreds of other vessels ranging in cost from one million to ten million dollars apiece. Broadly speaking, this entire 'investment' has to be replaced every ten years on account of obsolescence."

A CATECHISM OF THE CONFERENCE

JUST WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT, this great gathering in Washington of statesmen and expert advisers from the four corners of the earth? Most people know, in a general way, but the following series of questions and answers presents, in tabloid form condensed from all current sources of information, a good many details not so generally known, together with the salient facts that everybody will want to know.

Q. What is the Washington Conference?

A. Officially called "The Conference on Limitation of Armament," its scope will include a discussion of the problems of the Pacific and Far East. The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, and Belgium, in response to President Harding's invitation, have sent delegations.

Q. Who pays the expenses?

A. Each Government pays the expenses of its official delegation. As host, our appropriation is \$200,000.

Q. By whom are the agenda of the conference determined?

A. Primarily by our State Department, through correspondence and consultation with representatives of the conferring governments. The Conference may amend its own program.

Q. What agenda are proposed?

A. This outline, "essentially suggestive and subject to amendments or additions," was sent to the Foreign Offices of invited governments by our State Department:

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

1. Limitation of naval armaments, under which shall be discuss:

- (a) Basis of limitation.
- (b) Extent.
- (c) Fulfilment.
- (d) Rules for control of new agencies of warfare.
- (e) Limitation of land armaments.

SUBJECTS

- (a) Territorial integrity.
 - (b) Administrative integrity.
 - (c) Open door—Equality of commercial and industrial opportunities.
 - (d) Concessions, monopolies of preferential economic privileges.
 - (e) Development of railways, including plans relating to Chinese railways.
 - (f) Preferential railway rates.
 - (g) Status of existing commitments.
2. Questions relating to Siberia.
3. Mandated Islands.

Q. How far can such a conference bind the Powers represented?

A. That depends upon the nature of the conclusions reached and under what instructions, if any, the conferees act. The customary forms of action are "recommendations," or "declarations," or "conventions," the latter two forms requiring adherence or ratification by the governments. It is understood that the delegates have no treaty-making functions, but that the objective is to reach some kind of an "understanding" or formula of "agreement."

Q. How is such work organized?

A. Specific subjects are assigned to commissions, or committees, composed of authorized delegates to the Conference; these organize subcommissions which take up subjects in detail with the assistance of a staff of experts, specialists or advisers. Subcommissions report to commissions, commissions report to the Conference for final action.

Q. What is the official language?

A. Both English and French.

Q. What is the reason back of the demand for "open sessions"?

A. To prevent the device of secret, executive, or unrecorded sessions, heretofore sanctioned by diplomatic usage at such conferences, from masking the methods used in reaching conclusions.

Q. What formal means of bringing public opinion to bear upon such conferences are usually recognized?

A. Petitions, memorials, and hearings.

Q. Upon what basis have previous limitations of armament been secured?

A. (1) Force. Victors have imposed degrees of disarmament upon defeated enemy nations.

(2) Mutual agreement. For example, after the War of 1812, the United States and Great Britain in 1817, by an "agreement," provided for complete disarmament on the Great Lakes boundary with Canada. Chile and the Argentine Republic furnish another example. After war between them had been averted by resort to arbitration, these two South American governments, in 1903, signed five-year treaties agreeing to submit all controversies to arbitration, reduce armies to police proportions, halt naval-building programs, and diminish existing naval armament.

Q. Has the League of Nations any plan for the general reduction of armaments?

A. Not yet. Its Armaments Commission reports difficulties in the way of finding a practical basis of agreement among member governments; notes that such important factors as Russia, Germany and the United States are not members of the League, and hopes for results from the Washington Conference that will help to solve the world-wide problem. The Assembly asks governments to give data for the armaments commission to work on.

Q. What propositions for limiting national armaments have heretofore been discuss?

A. Principally,

- No increase of present armaments budget.
- General reduction of military forces and armament.
- Holiday in naval construction.
- Prohibition of new kinds of war weapons, land, sea and air.
- Control of private manufacture and traffic in arms.
- Government exchanges of information regarding armament.

Q. Upon what rocks have propositions foundered?

A. Governments have different methods of budget-making and accounting for items of expenditure, so that totals charged to armament are not comparable. It is hard to pick out and define what constitutes military forces and armament for reduction, separately from the whole modern system of national organization, industries, strategic railways, etc. Constantly changing units of naval efficiency—battle-ships, submarines, aircraft auxiliaries, etc.—lead experts to disagree upon a standard of estimating or comparing actual naval strength.

Q. What other rocks have been officially reported?

A. The impracticability of limiting research or invention; war drives nations to use anything to win. Nations object to any interference with their sovereign right, each to determine for itself its necessities and means of national defense. Mutual distrust of government policies behind the information, promises, and guarantees.

Q. What conditions favor the Washington Conference?

A. War losses and war debts, of utterly incomprehensible size, stagger nations so that decreased taxes for armament are demanded for the sake of economic recovery. Belief that the United States is now in a position and potentially strong enough to see that something is done toward lessening the burden of at least competitive naval armament had not a little to do with bringing about the Washington Conference.

Q. What advantage does the Washington Conference begin with?

A. 1. This Conference is comparatively small.

2. On the question of limiting naval armament it brings together all the five powers—Great Britain, United States, Japan, France, Italy—that have considerable navies. Theoretically, a scaling down of the expense pro rata would seem to be attainable, provided they do not intend to fight one another.

3. The Conference seeks to find ground for agreement on national policies in the Pacific and the Far East upon which naval and military programs depend.

4. The humanitarian appeal for the development of rules having the force of international law is vastly stronger than before the war.

Q. What disadvantages appear?

A. 1. In the question of the reduction of land armament France and other European nations have acute concern, under the Treaty of Versailles and League of Nations commitments which we do not share. More than cooperation in declaring a formula for limiting land armament over there may be asked.

2. Russia and numerous small struggling nations are not in it.

3. The South Chinese Government group protests recognition of the Northern Republic of China only in the Conference.

Q. What have Pacific and Far Eastern questions to do with armament?

A. Unless conflicting national policies of exploitation can be composed by conference and diplomacy, everybody must get ready for "the next war" that threatens from that side of the world.

This last answer leads logically to the enlightening catechism on the Japanese-American phase of the Conference, presented by William Hard in *The New Republic*. The reader will notice that Mr. Hard mixes with his generally accepted facts a few answers based largely on his own opinions. After dealing briefly with more general questions, his "A.B.C. of the Conference" runs:

Q. What then should be the policy of the friends of the limiting of armaments?

A. It should be to spend part of their time on the limiting of the disagreement between United States and Japan.

Q. What is that disagreement?

A. It has several elements. One: the rules of conduct to be followed in China by foreign governments. Two: the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Three: the future security of China.

Q. Is the United States Government acting as a government on Chinese soil?

A. It is. It is among the governments entitled to maintain foreign judicial tribunals and foreign post-offices in China. It is among the governments entitled to take part in a foreign fixing of customs duties in China. It is among the governments entitled to address remonstrances to the Chinese Government if and when the Chinese Government attempts to impose certain inland taxes on foreign goods in China. It is entitled to these rights and it exercises them.

Q. Does it propose that the Washington Conference shall abolish them?

A. It does not.

Q. From what foreign rights then does the United States Government propose that the Washington Conference shall liberate China?

A. From rights which are not general rights for all foreigners, but special rights for special foreigners.

Q. Does the United States Government propose the abolishing of all foreign special rights in China?

A. No. Not all. Hong Kong, for instance, is a special right.

Q. Who got the first special right in China?

A. The British—in Hong Kong. By it they have made a place that was nothing into a place that is one of the great centers of the trade of the world.

Q. What sort of right is the right of the British in Hong Kong?

A. A territorial right. The most extreme territorial right possible. Annexation.

Q. What other cases of foreign annexation are there in China?

A. The region north of the Amur and east of the Ussuri—to Russia—in 1858 and 1859. Annam and Indo-China—to France—in 1884 and 1885 and 1886. Macao—to Portugal—in 1887. Formosa—to Japan—in 1895. And Korea.

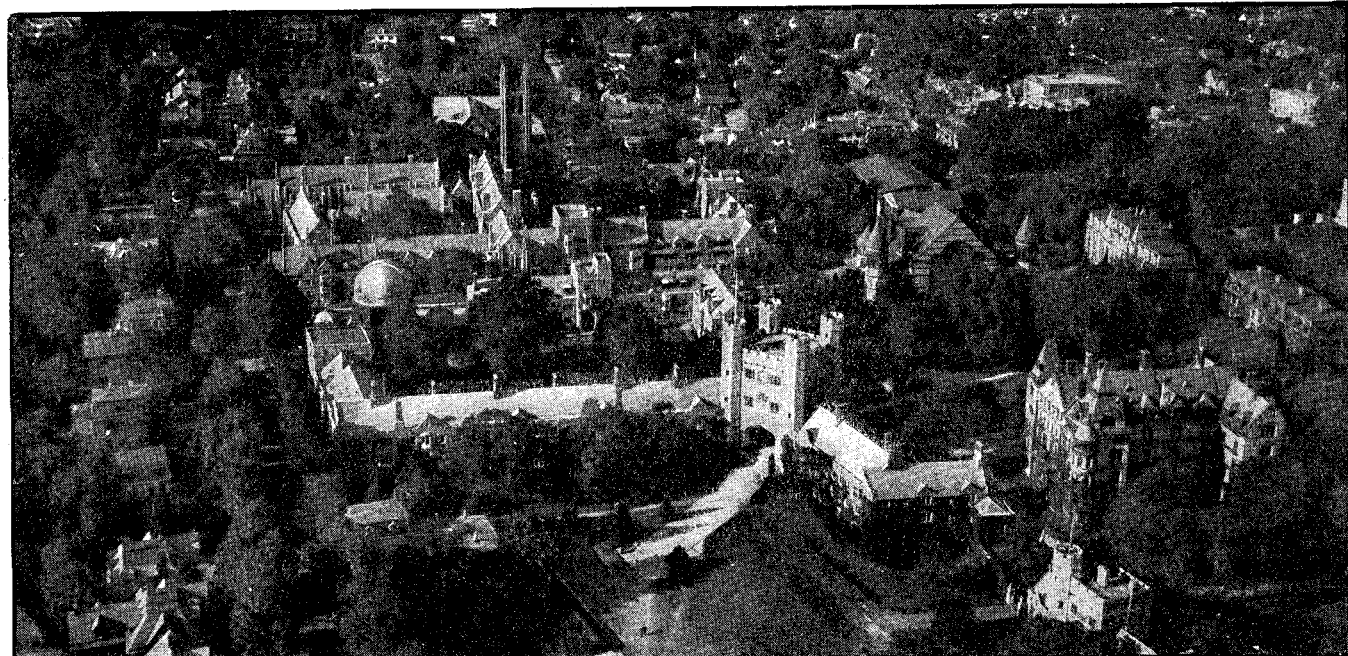
Q. Are the Europeans less active than the Japanese in the annexing and in the leasing of Chinese territory?



Photo by Fairchild Aerial Camera Corporation.

ONE BATTLE-SHIP'S COST WOULD BUILD 8,600 HOMES

At \$5,000 each, or about the number of dwellings in such cities as Montgomery, Ala., Macon, Ga., Berkeley or Sacramento, Calif., Dubuque, Ia., Lexington, Ky., El Paso or Galveston, Tex., Wheeling, W. Va., or Oshkosh, Wis.



Copyrighted by W. N. Jennings, Philadelphia.

THE COST OF ONE U. S. BATTLE-SHIP WOULD ENDOW FOUR UNIVERSITIES LIKE PRINCETON.

A. In the past they have been more active.

Q. Are we proposing any general abolition of special foreign territorial rights now existing in China?

A. No.

Q. Why then do we seem to be quarreling with the Japanese about their new special territorial rights in Kiaochau—acquired by defeating the Germans?

A. Because we helped to defeat the Germans, and we think we ought to have something to say about anything taken from the Germans. Because the United States possesses historic rights and interests in China.

Q. But did we object to the Japanese lease at Port Arthur and to the Japanese acquisition of the Russian railway running north from Port Arthur into Manchuria?

A. No.

Q. Then why are we disturbed now by the Japanese lease of Kiaochau and by the Japanese acquisition of the German railway running west from Kiaochau into Shantung?

A. Because China has never consented to the transfer of Kiaochau. Because in the meantime we think we have noticed that the Japanese use their territorial rights and their railway rights in China in a manner peculiarly disadvantageous to our interests.

Q. What sort of interests?

A. Economic interests.

Q. Do we base political policies on economic interests?

A. We do. The British made Hong Kong a free port and opened it to all ships and to all cargoes, of all nations equally. We thereupon were quite able to endure British political power in China without protest. But the Japanese—we think—have treated our traders unequally and unfairly in Manchuria. We therefore think that the Japanese would give us a similarly unequal and unfair treatment in Shantung and we regard their political power there with disfavor.

Q. Is this the whole of our case against Japan in China?

A. The whole of our case in China grows out of our belief that no matter what it is that the Japanese governmentally get in China—whether a territorial lease or a railway or a railway loan or a right to have a Japanese appointed to a post of influence—they use it with a peculiar passion for special privileges for Japanese.

Q. What is meant by a special privilege?

A. In 1918 the Chinese Government needed money for the Peking-Kalgan Railway. It borrowed it from Japanese banks. Japanese traders are now to have a preference in providing the Peking-Kalgan Railway with its supplies.

Q. Did the Japanese invent the idea of such special privileges in business in China?

A. They did not.

Q. Who did?

A. The French. In 1885 the French persuaded the Chinese Government to promise that if it ever laid down a railway in the

region of the southern frontier of China it would apply to French traders for the materials for the railway.

Q. Do we object to that sort of special privilege?

A. We do. We regard it as the worst sort. It was a special privilege based on locality. It was the beginning of the era of "spheres of interest" in China.

Q. What can we do to diminish this friction (in the case of the United States and Japan)?

A. The friction between the United States and Japan can be assuaged in just three ways taken together. First: an abstinence on our part from exaggerated charges against the Japanese, from capricious interferences with their normal development in Asia, and from threats against their security. We have to realize that if it is normal for us to get the island of Porto Rico it is normal for the Japanese to get the Island of Sakhalin.

Q. Will that not be a very hard thing for us to realize?

A. Naturally. But it may save us the expense of a trip by the fleet over to Sakhalin to take it from the Japanese and the annoyance of seeing the Japanese take it back again as soon as our fleet returned to America. We ought to calm ourselves on matters that we cannot control.

Q. But will not the Japanese have to do some abstaining too?

A. Yes. Second: an abstinence by the Japanese from pressing the California-Japanese immigration squabble and foible and—above all—a self-denying ordinance with respect to China. They will have to give China a chance to develop. They will have to abandon their excesses in special privileges and unfair advantages in international trade in China.

Mr. Hard's conclusion and final recommendations are:

Q. What can the Americans do to make it a success?

A. They can give Japan, Great Britain and China every assurance that they themselves do not intend to take over the business of exploiting China and that what they want is an agreement by consent and not as a result of coercion.

Q. Will they succeed?

A. That will depend on others as well as ourselves. The Conference may fail to begin the emancipation of China or to lay out the specifications for a settlement in the Pacific. But if it is properly conducted it can not fail to accomplish the next best thing. It can not fail to inform and arouse public opinion in Japan, Great Britain and this country as to what the Pacific and the Far Eastern problems are, and why they provoke armaments. It can not fail, that is, unless it conceals some part of its deliberations and conclusions from the public.

Q. What then should those Americans do who wish the Conference, even if it fails in its immediate object, to succeed in doing away with the obstacles to a future agreement and a future effective limitation of armaments?

A. They should insist on full publicity for both the proceedings and the conclusions of the Conference.

AERIAL NAVIES AND ARMIES OF CHEMISTS

PRESIDENT HARDING has suggested that rules for the control of the new agencies of warfare are a proper subject of discussion at the Washington Conference. This, of course, is partly because of the fact that while the reduction of armaments will save money and will therefore be worth while in relieving us of the burden of taxation, it will not necessarily prevent war. Navies, cannon and munitions, standing armies, can be watched and limited with comparative ease, but not so the development of poisonous gases and of military applications of electricity. Any nation that has trained chemists and well-equipped dye works can turn to producing poison gas in enormous quantities in a few hours. This is one reason for the demand that Congress place an embargo on German dyes and foster the development of our own dye industry. Since the war, the New York *Herald* noted recently, all the leading Powers, besides developing improved guns and projectiles and tanks and warships and motor transport, have been inventing new and terrible weapons. The United States, we are told, now has available a practical aerial torpedo; radio control of submarine torpedoes; diphenylchlorasine, a sneezing gas more deadly than that used in the late war; masks and clothing impervious to the most deadly gases; an armored three-seated triplane, mounting eight machine-guns and a 37-millimeter cannon: it is developing devices for dropping 3,000-pound bombs; illuminating projectiles to light vast areas, and a liquid poison, three drops of which will kill on contact. Great Britain is said to have a deadly new poison gas which can be projected against the wind; electric apparatus to explode ammunition far beyond the lines, and great super-airplanes: it is developing plans for a submarine torpedo to carry a ton of TNT; for flying warships combining the characteristics of torpedo boats and airplanes; for killing by electricity and the X-ray. France, which now has submarine tanks and all-metal airplanes available, is said to be experimenting with gigantic aerial bombs, and rockets which will set fire to airplanes. The closing campaign of the great war has been described as a race between German and Allied chemists, which the latter won. Gas, it has been said, cost the American Army 27.3 per cent. of all its casualties in France. To-day, according to Mr. Theodore M. Knappen, who writes in *The Independent*, the United States is "the best prepared nation in the world for chemical warfare." He adds:

"At the moment, at least, we are supposed to have lethal gases of deadly intensity, subject to almost perfect control for combat purposes, which can not be resisted by any gas-mask but one of our own secret contriving that at the same time will stop any gas known to any potential enemy. Out of the peace-time wrecking of war plants, which has put us back to about where we were in 1914 for the production of all armament other than smokeless powder and high explosives, there has been preserved one plant, or a great group of chemical warfare material plants,

at the Edgewood (Maryland) arsenal. In the quality of their deadly product, these plants are far ahead of their war-time position, and the skeletonized operating forces could be expanded within a few days to full capacity. Two hundred chemists there work unremittingly in the search for new gases and the means to use and to foil them. Research, development, demonstration, and production are laboriously carried through to perfection. New chemical and mechanical methods are evolved and perfected. For every gas chosen a hundred are rejected. There are only 700 men in the single gas regiment of the Army, but through the school for officers and men and the units of this regiment it is purposed in effect to make the regular combatant

units of the Army—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—as well as the air services of the Army and Navy, and the Navy itself, chemical warfare agents. In other words, the chemists of war have come to the conclusion that the warfare of the future will be chiefly with chemical weapons or projectiles, whatever the designation of the arm of the military service that may use them."

The airplane was "the eye of the Army" in the last war. In the next, predicts Henry Farman, the distinguished French aeronaut, it will be really the decisive factor. Airplanes will fight in squadrons of 100 or more, he says in a New York *Times* article.

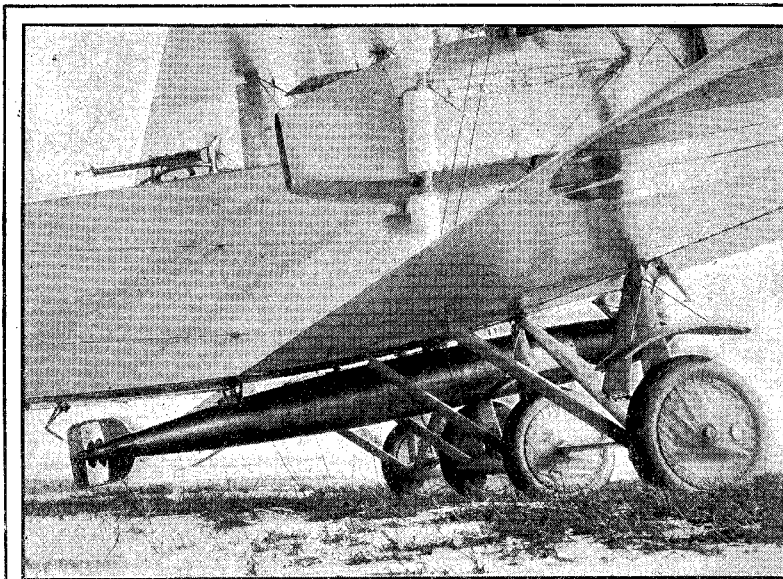
Whereas the most powerful German planes used in the war could carry but half a ton of explosives, the new *Goliath* type can transport three tons besides its crew and 20 soldiers, each armed with a machine-gun. Besides their bombing functions, airplane squadrons will also play a decisive part in the combat of operations on the ground.

"Suppose, for instance, that a squadron of *Goliaths*, each carrying twenty soldiers, succeeds in crossing the enemy's lines without encountering any aerial force belonging to the other side, or that it encounters and fights and destroys an enemy force and is still able to continue on its mission. What would it be able to do?"

"The victorious squadron might be able to land behind the enemy's lines. In less than a couple of hours a substantial military force would have been massed in the enemy's rear and all his entrenchments and military works would be turned. The troops of the country which had lost the supremacy of the air—the impregnability of the 'air front'—would suddenly find themselves compelled to fight on two fronts at the same time, or, rather, to surrender to the enemy."

It is difficult to estimate the comparative aerial fighting strength of the Powers. Aircraft can be built quickly, and readily transformed from commercial to military uses. In estimating potential aerial strength there must be considered the extent of quantity industrial production in each country, the amount of raw material available, the state of the fuel and lubrication supply, and the aptitude of the inhabitants for aeronautics. With these considerations in mind our own Army Air Service ranks six of the leading Powers as follows in respect to their aerial strength:

ACTUAL STRENGTH		POTENTIAL STRENGTH	
In planes	In personnel	In planes	In personnel
France	Germany	United States	United States
Great Britain	Great Britain	Germany	Great Britain
United States	France	France	Germany
Japan	United States	Great Britain	France
Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy
....	Japan	Japan	Japan



By courtesy of the Manufacturers Aircraft Association.

THE TORPEDO-PLANE CARRYING ITS TORPEDO.

The torpedo, launched from the air, will travel 18,000 yards through the water to its mark; it costs \$9000, weighs 1700 pounds and carries 200 pounds of TNT.

AMERICAN ARMY DISCIPLINE AS SPIRITUAL MURDER

ARMAMENTS ARE FOR WAR. War is made to kill men. A novel called "Three Soldiers" has lately appeared whose thesis seems to be that war kills not only those who die, but those who seem to live. It is an indictment of the terrible waste that follows in the wake of war. Material waste is bad enough, but the human waste is worse, and this is only realized when the fighting is done and the passions that bore men on and seemed to ennoble them have died away. The book has its congener in France and Germany in the work of Barbusse and Latzko. But as Mr. Ernest Boyd of the New York *Evening Post* says of it, "it is wonderfully free from all that dreary, anti-militarist propaganda which makes Latzko and Barbusse mere pamphleteers of the usual sentimental radical type. There is neither sentimentality nor propaganda in 'Three Soldiers,' yet it is a superb picture and indictment of military life." "If the United States Government were a strictly logical affair—which thank God it isn't!—'Three Soldiers' would never be sent through the mails," says the New York *Herald*. It may contain error, but such books "have too much truth in them to be permanently suppressed." Even of this element of error, continues this writer, "since millions of men feel that way, it is better to get the matter out in the open where it can be faced frankly." "The rulers of the world, presidents, prime ministers, diplomats, will have to take 'Under Fire' and 'Three Soldiers' and the facts they represent into account in any future international steps they take."

In the discussion of "Three Soldiers," its author, Mr. John Dos Passos, is variously treated as an artist and a special pleader, according, apparently, as his novel hits the special sensitiveness of the critic. Professional criticism is supplemented with personal, drawn in the latter case from the experience of the writers in the A. E. F. Between these two the purpose of the book is differently taken. In some cases it is charged with being "an insult to the American Army" and an indignity to the dead who gave their lives in a sacred cause. Such a view mistakes the purpose of the novel expressed in the very title of "Three Soldiers." This more limited view is taken by Heywood Broun in the New York *World*:

"'Three Soldiers' is distinctly a tale of disillusion. It is almost as bitter a book as 'Under Fire' of Barbusse, altho Dos Passos has set himself more particularly to the record of the torture of the soul rather than of the body. Indeed, the book is larger than the war in its scope. Revolt against authority, the revolt of the young man, is its theme and the Army serves as the most convenient symbol of all the vast forces which tend to break the will of the individual. The story traces the manner in which the demands of the Army ride down the hopes and aspirations of the various characters in the book. The author does not picture the Army so much as a malevolent force as one which is of necessity heedless of the individual. This great force has only one direction in mind and it runs upon a single track. . . .

"Our own political beliefs are such that we are willing to grant that in theory the iron discipline of army life was and is a force calculated to wreck almost everything in man which is free and fine. To this expression of belief we must add the attendant observation that actually it did nothing of the sort to huge numbers of men. War is brutalizing and some of the millions

come through untouched by it. The most terrific adventure and ordeal the world has ever known lifted its hordes in the air and when it set them down again vast numbers had not been changed spiritually by so much as a single hair. Having arrived at a theory of the effects of war Dos Passos has been a little too ready to put all his characters through the same emotional hopper. To be sure, he makes them express themselves in language which varies greatly, but fundamentally all are smashed and in much the same way. The pattern is too perfect."

Before going further, it may be well to give in outline the story Mr. Dos Passos tells, and with this purpose in view we quote from Mr. Henry Seidel Canby's review of the book, which appears in the New York *Evening Post*:



JOHN DOS PASSOS

Whose novel "Three Soldiers" is such an indictment of war that one critic declares "every member of the Arms Conference should be asked to read a copy before taking part in the deliberations."

"John Andrews, Fuselli, and Chrisfield are the three soldiers. Chrisfield is an Indiana farm boy, slow and thick, with a devil in him that has been roused just once in the past. The war gives it power over his spirit. He kills with a grenade the officer who bullies him, is haunted by fear, not remorse, deserts, and comes—one guesses—to a bad end. Fuselli is a second-generation Italian with no particular qualities except an ambition to stand well with his friends. He breaks down because hard luck keeps him from being a corporal, and winds up in the K. P. with disease and a wrecked morale—not that there was much to wreck. John Andrews—through whose eyes the book is seen—gives the dominant motive of the story. A Virginian and a college man, intensely musical, and on the eve of creation, the draft makes a slave of him. At first he takes it cheerfully, having a mind that can escape. But this cannot endure. The petty tyranny of discipline wears his nerves till they begin to thrill just when others are deadening. He is wounded, held in routine after the armistice, released for the paradise of school training in Paris, caught on absence without leave, and thrown into the labor gang. He deserts by diving into the Seine, wanders back to love and music, is caught, and flung again under the wheel that was crushing him—and the story ends. It is the story of the caged lark."

The psychology of the "caged lark" is analyzed with even more spirit by Frances Hackett in the New Republic:

"Andrews was apparently a young American of the more highly organized and sensitive kind who happened to take the war 'subjectively,' as they say. He brought to the Army certain large assumptions of the American sort about justice and freedom and equality and consent. Nothing prepared him emotionally for the dirty work of the war—the work of killing, to which he was consigned. Not being emotionally prepared either by the circumstance of his education for the work of killing, not having a sense of necessity or a natural aptitude or any patriotic exaltation, he found in the Army an institution particularly revolting. Had it been the Army of the Civil War rather than the Army of machine process he might not have liked it much better. But this Army, at any rate, sickened his soul. He was the type of Crusader who discovered in the American machine a school of intolerance, brutality and self-seeking, violating everything he had ever been taught of equality and freedom and consent and all the other shibboleths of democracy. So long as he kept his faith in these shibboleths, which he did to the end, he was a sick soul, with the Y men and the officers as the worst emetics of all. And, naturally, not trying to get out of the dirty work by those arts of favor or bluff or solicitation to which most people stoop under duress, Andrews never did acquire that full appreciation of the arduous tasks of the G. H. Q., those difficult and delicate activities of the Crillon, those brow-knitting agonies of the intelligentzia, with which so many publicists have sympathy. Andrews kicked against the pricks. He resented cleaning

windows, drilling, handling garbage, chasing cooties. He felt affronted by the sweet Y man, the whining Y man, the jolly-em-along Y man, the Christly Y man. He never completely grasped the importance of saluting instantaneously, of giving orders with gusto, of taking orders with equanimity. He had, on the whole, that attitude toward war which is reasonable as regards culture and unserviceable as regards the modern state. We like it when Tolstoi has it, concerning a war a hundred years old."

The opposite side has been taken largely by contributors to the *New York Times*, the chief of whom is Mr. Coningsby Dawson, who, however, served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In a long review Mr. Dawson characterizes the book as one that would have caused its author's arrest if written during the war. "If the purpose of Mr. John Dos Passos in writing 'Three Soldiers' was to expose what he considered to be a nation-wide injustice," says Mr. Dawson, "he seems to the reviewer to have achieved a nation-wide insult." Selecting one of the book's episodes, Mr. Dawson reprints it as something that might have happened, but as "emphatically not a part of any army system," and "the moment they were discovered they were punished." With a word of introduction:

"The war is ended and Andrews, still in uniform, has been permitted to study music at the Sorbonne. He has not yet been demobilized and, in order to please a French girl, having foolishly omitted to obtain a leave-warrant, has accompanied her for a day's outing to Chartres. There he has been picked up by the military police and is awaiting in the guardhouse the arrival of an officer.

'Handsome sat with his elbows on the table and his chin in his beefy hands. His face was flushed crimson, but the skin was softly molded, like a woman's.

'The light in the room was beginning to grow gray.

'Handsome and Bill Huggis stood up. A young officer, with clearly marked features and a campaign hat worn a little on one side, came in, stood with his feet wide apart in the middle of the floor.

'Andrews went up to him.

"I'm in the Sorbonne detachment, Lieutenant, stationed in Paris."

"Don't you know enough to salute?" said the officer, looking him up and down. "One of you men teach him to salute," he said slowly.

'Handsome made a step toward Andrews and hit him with his fist between the eyes. There was a flash of light and the room swung round, and there was a splitting crash as his head struck the floor. He got to his feet. The fist hit him in the same place, blinding him, the three figures and the bright oblong of the window swung round. A chair crashed down with him, and a hard rap in the back of his skull brought momentary blackness.

"That's enough, let him be," he heard a voice far away at the end of a black tunnel.

'A great weight seemed to be holding him down as he struggled to get up, blinded by tears and blood. Rending pains darted like arrows through his head. There were handcuffs on his wrists.

"Git up," snarled a voice.

'He got to his feet, faint light came through the streaming tears in his eyes. His forehead flamed as if hot coals were being prest against it.

"Prisoner, attention!" shouted the officer's voice. "March!"

'Automatically Andrews lifted one foot and then the other. He felt in his face the cool air of the street. On either side of him were the hard steps of the M. P.'s. Within him a nightmare voice was shrieking, shrieking."

If the picture is false, says Mr. Dawson, meaning the whole book, "the crime of presenting it is unpardonable"—

"Whether it be false or true will not take long to discover, for there are millions of men from the Atlantic to the Pacific who have the knowledge either to brand it as a lie or to acclaim it as a heroic revelation."

And it hasn't. The press has teemed with statements from men who claim first-hand knowledge, and it must be confessed that the majority support the author of the book. A long review in the *Nation* signed "Three Other Soldiers" contains this:

"It is an ironical fact that Dos Passos shows how the efficiency of the Army might actually have been increased. The War College could learn much from him if it tried; both from his disclosures of vast reservoirs of energy which the Army did not tap, and from his display of sources of friction which can be removed. All of the characters in 'Three Soldiers,' with the one exception of an unassimilated New York Jew, were patriotic at the beginning. They brought from civil life the enthusiasm, the generosity and the naïveté which constitute the charm of American youth.

But the Army made no attempt to assimilate and utilize these forces. It assumed the character of its citizen soldiers to be identical with that of the professional soldiers of peace time. It taught them the maxims of the establishment: 'Ye've got to be hard-boiled to get on in this Army'; 'If ye once get in wrong in this damned Army—it's hell'; 'If ye can't get away with it, ye're S. O. L.' They suddenly found a new, hard set of cynical rules of conduct substituted for the ethical standards of their homes. In this sifting atmosphere of self-seeking, callousness, and favoritism, the weaker were corrupted and the stronger could achieve nothing better than wearied resignation to anything that might befall them in 'this man's Army.' The lofty ideals for which America was supposed to be fighting were obscured to an extent which would have shocked a civilian eavesdropper at an army mess in France. No one will know how much energy and goodwill were thus lost to the national cause."

Mr. Will Irwin, in a brief review for the *New York Tribune*, declares that "it's war, for the first time in English, from the point of view of the plain doughboy." Adding:

"Probably the main criticism of the truth in Mr. Dos Passos's picture is the fact that he doesn't draw a single decent officer. They are either mere annoying shadows or brutes. But I wonder if that is not how the average private soldier regards his officer, after all. He has attacked the problem of war *vs.* society at a new angle. He shows neither its pure physical horrors nor yet its sentimental horrors, but its mental horror—that men should be made machines."

A contributor to the "Bowling Green" column of the *New York Evening Post* feels resentment that the book makes it appear that "the artists of the world hate war and fare worse than other men with regard to treatment and duties, because of their fineness, their vision, their nobility." He goes on:

"It is regrettable that you should not recall, for example, that Siegfried Sassoon was a most efficient officer, that David Bone was the last man to leave his ship. What I am getting at is, that the man who wrote 'Three Soldiers' (and it is emphatically not to be compared with 'Men in War,' by Latzko) is the sort who would produce peace stories such as that thing, 'The World's Illusion,' or the works of Fannie Hurst, or 'Hunger.' . . .

"The men of my generation of Yale were those most heavily engaged. Among them all is a vivid disgust for the whole business. But they don't take their moral underwear off in public about it—nor do I believe that those who do are 'artists.'"

Another writer, addressing the *New York Times*, charges:

"Let one who saw the good part of the late war, the interesting and instructive incidents, the admirable traits of human nature in the raw, but try to have his experiences and conclusions published, and his paper comes back with the advice that such material is not wanted at this time. Let one who libels and maligns America's young manhood, deliberately lies about conditions and falsely represents facts and the Army in a driveling, whining dog-robbing way, present his matter and it is seized by the publisher and guaranteed of success by the press."

The book, as is quite natural, practically misses attention as a work of art. Its message is doubtless too burning for the moment at least. *The Freeman*, however, is not thus oblivious. It speaks of Mr. Dawson's assumption that "the novelist must have a 'purpose,' that this purpose is not artistic, but sociological, and that the only question to be answered is whether he has achieved it." Continuing:

"The same idea is emphasized in the editorial comment in which the *New York Times* returned to the subject. There, however, the additional argument is introduced, that the book must be condemned, not because the editor considers that it is badly written, nor even because it does not achieve some specific utilitarian purpose, but because it will please three classes of people who happen to be objectionable to the writer of the editorial. The first two classes are the pacifists and the 'Germans and pro-Germans'; the third is worthy of special note, so we quote the text. 'A third group of laudators is that of readers indifferent to what is written, so long as it is well written, and there is no doubt that John Dos Passos can write well.'

"Such is current literary criticism as expounded by the practice of a prominent reviewer and by the precepts of an editorial in the chief daily paper of our largest American city."

"LIVING APPEALS" FOR DISARMAMENT

THE COST OF WAR is no better illustrated, we are told, than by the number of disabled veterans whom the American Red Cross is supporting, and by the number of families of ex-service men still dependent on that organization for their food and clothing. In both Europe and America the halt and the maimed, the sick and the hungry form "a living appeal for disarmament which the governments of the world must heed and which the Conference can not refuse." Not least among the sufferers from the World War, whose voices should be heard in Washington, runs a commentary, are "the children who must carry to the end of their lives a burden which they had no part in making." In Europe whole communities strained the resources of the American Red Cross and the generosity of the American people. In this country 1,500,000 ex-service men and their families were cared for during the past year by the society, according to its annual report, just issued. And the end is not yet, nor in sight, for we are told that in the number of veterans aided there was "an increase of 793 per cent. over the year following the armistice," and that "a continuation of the increase is expected next year and for the succeeding five years." This is said to be one of the chief reasons why the organization is appealing to the country for 7,000,000 members during the 1922 roll call, which began yesterday and will continue to November 24. In 2,397 communities as many Red Cross chapters have been caring for veterans and thus paying part of the cost of war. According to the report,

"This service has cost \$10,000,000 during the last twelve months. At the 1,692 hospitals where 26,300 disabled men are under care, the Red Cross has supplemented the work of the hospital staffs. It has provided recreation in the form of theaters, ball-games, motor-rides, summer camping-trips and small luxuries, such as books, magazines and cigars. It has assisted the men in putting through their claims for government compensation. It has made 32,495 loans of money to men entering Federal vocational training, pending the arrival of their compensation checks.

"The country's largest chapter, in New York City, has placed 4,000 jobless ex-service men in positions during 1921. Worry caused by unemployment and the resultant inability to take care of themselves and their families has been largely responsible for the appalling increase in the number of mentally disabled. Prompt ministrations on the part of the Red Cross Home Service have kept this number from being considerably larger than it is. Every month the Home Service has aided the families of 129,215 ex-service men and 14,574 men of the peace-time Army and Navy."

"The highest and greatest obligation that the nation and the American Red Cross face to-day," says *The Labor Clarion* (San Francisco), "is the problem of the disabled service man. The number of these men is increasing continually, and an average of a thousand a month are reporting for hospital treatment." Obviously, then, "if the work is to be continued and expanded

to meet the need that exists, the membership must be greatly increased this year." Happily, notes the *New York Globe*, the Red Cross has so far escaped the reaction which set in after the armistice.

"The service it was able to render during the period of strife was so fundamental that it has been enabled to continue. Another year is ending, however, and once more the organization must show its right to live. Its claim to popular support is based on its works. These are numerous and significant. Most important, perhaps, is the medical service extended to former soldiers and sailors who are patients in government hospitals. The kind of assistance which an intelligent and generous family would give its own sons is afforded by the Red Cross. Nearly eight thousand service men were thus befriended during the year."

In addition to its home work, which includes, besides help for ex-service men, assistance for those suffering from natural disasters, the Red Cross has largely aided in Eastern Europe, in Italy and in France, where the receding tide of war has left millions of helpless victims. Chief among the charges of the "Greatest Mother" are the children, and the women of 1,613 chapters are still carrying on, we are told, the production of garments for the sacrificial victims. Last year 1,317,528 surgical dressings, 56,486 layettes, and 551,680 garments were made and shipped to Europe. Moreover, working in co-operation with the American Friends' Relief Committee, they are collecting used garments and shoes of all kinds to be shipped abroad for the millions of children in Eastern and Central Europe "who have not even rags to clothe themselves in this winter."

In Austria, where in the beginning of last year need was most urgent because of the economic collapse of the country and the threatened destruction of child life, the American Red Cross distributed food, clothing and medical supplies to 500,000 persons, mostly children; furnished employment in garment-making to 40,000 native women; provided 25,000,000 francs' worth of medical and other supplies to 235 hospitals; 3,800 beds to institutions caring for 27,000 children, and assisted other organizations reaching 107,000 people. Elsewhere on the Continent the organization has brought relief to numberless hordes of refugees, and "is still carrying on."

But its good work can be continued only by universal and whole-hearted support on the part of the entire nation, writes Major Merritte W. Ireland in a message to the *Red Cross Bulletin*, appealing for increased membership in the organization. So he writes,

"In appreciative recognition of its splendid achievements in the past, and the incalculable good that it can do in the future for the personnel of the Army alone, I urge upon every member who has been affiliated with the Society, during or since the war, to keep alive his or her active membership therein and, in addition, vigorously to support the campaign for new members."



Courtesy of the American Red Cross.

PEACE CRUSADE UNITING THE CREEDS

THE ONLY BASIS for international peace is human brotherhood, and the accomplishment of that bond "is a challenge to the churches of the world." So spoke Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, a Chinese delegate to the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which was recently called to unite the religious forces of the world in favor of disarmament. That challenge has been accepted, and it is a striking commentary on the moral revulsion against war that Jews, Catholics and Protestants are united for disarmament as, we are told, they have never before been united for any other purpose. Yet it was a soldier who first pointed out the "priceless opportunity" of the churches to prevent another moral breakdown of humanity. "If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now, without further waste of time," wrote General Tasker H. Bliss in a public letter addressed some months ago to the churches of the country. As quoted in these pages last June, General Bliss said further that "the responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood shed and for every dollar wasted."

Thus the issue has been placed squarely before the religious forces of the country, and every branch of religious faith represented in the United States has enlisted itself in what is described as "the common cause of humanity." So, with "harrowing memories of the ten million men who laid down their lives in the awful holocaust from which we have just emerged, and, most of all, of the aftermath of bitterness, suspicion and hate which pervade all lands," the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued to 150,000 churches a call to prayer and consecration in behalf of the Conference. In this opportune hour, runs the appeal,

"Let us not shrink from proclaiming unequivocally that war is not a necessity, that the pacific settlement of every international question is possible, that a warless world can really be achieved. Our witness must be unmistakable that force is not the final arbiter among the nations, but that justice, reason and good-will can control their life as well as the life of individual men. To continue to point to the mailed fist as our ultimate reliance and to carry on a program of mutual distrust and fear is to undermine the very foundation of our Christian faith."

Similarly convinced of the supreme importance of lifting the burden of armaments from the world, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy has also issued a statement recalling Pope Benedict's appeal for peace and commending the spirit of the Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the United Synagog of America are no less in active sympathy with the movement. And while hearts are turned to Washington, urges the Duluth *Herald*, "Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles—all humanity everywhere should be praying, as it is longing, that this Conference will be so guided that its achievements will be real and lasting steps to realize that peace and good-will toward which, with bleeding footsteps, tired mankind has been painfully toiling for nineteen hundred years."

But the three religious forces of the country will not content themselves with praying behind the scenes and waiting for a word of hope. Active committees representing all churches will be present in Washington to watch the play of international forces, to establish a clearing house which will gather and disseminate information regarding the Conference, and attempt to "unite and make articulate through the member groups the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the United States in favor of reduction of armaments." It goes without saying that no political program will be suggested by the churches; but because the solution of the whole problem of disarmament depends so directly upon spiritual issues, rather than upon material and financial considerations, observes *Zion's Herald* (Methodist)

"the relation of the Church to the deliberations at Washington is one of the utmost importance." And it is the preachers who are almost, if not altogether, "the key men in this mighty matter which has passed, we may almost say escaped, the wretched stage of petty politics," declares *The Christian-Evangelist*. "None but those who have God's outlook on the world and life can cope with an issue so immense." Moreover, "if the pulpit is silent now, it will forfeit its reputation for insight, foresight and prophecy, and throw away its spiritual leadership. Brethren, the hour is here—strike!"

In these days and weeks when the fate of humanity will be hanging in the balance, "who should proclaim the only saving ideals for men and for nations if not the Church of Jesus Christ," asks *The Christian Work* (undenominational). Where shall we look for the vision and the leadership that alone can save the nations from the sin of war, if not to the Christian Church? So, we are told,

"If the world is to be saved from the financial bankruptcy of excessive armaments, from the political chaos of suffering and rebellious classes, and from the moral tragedy of war after war, we must grapple with the sin itself. Were the heart and will of the nations right, the practical problems in the establishment of a warless world could be easily solved."

"Whatever may or may not be the inner spirit and attitude of other nations, we Americans are directly responsible for the spirit and the purposes of our own. . . ."

"In order that President Harding's great Conference may greatly succeed, there is pressing need of a wholesome, friendly atmosphere throughout our land, banishing the deadly mutual suspicions and fear and intrigues that so often determine the conferences and policies of nations. We must seek, indeed, to understand the facts of the actual world, but at the same time we must be inspired by the ideals of the Golden Rule and of universal brotherhood."

Hopeful of good result, *The Lutheran* states that the call for the Conference is a people's call—in reality "a people's prayer." Along with that prayer "will come a hatred against war, and when that is born in human hearts, God will have answered the prayer of his people."

Nor is America the only land where the religious forces are crying out for peace. At a great meeting under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches held in Geneva in September the representatives of the Protestant Church in twenty-three countries voted to observe last Sunday as Disarmament Day, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the Alliance, sent out an appeal to the churches of the world to join in prayer for the movement. Those countries whose representatives have assured their cooperation are, besides America: Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, Esthonia, Greece, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Japan, Turkey, Spain and Portugal. At a recent national conference, the Christian women of the United Kingdom, says *The Christian Herald*, "adopted a ringing resolution calling for disarmament, and declaring that the cost of great armies and navies and their accompaniments, has become a burden so heavy that it is wrecking the world and can no longer be borne." Many other organizations have joined hands with the Church in pressing for a proper approach to the Conference and for a successful issue of its discussions. In this country the American Federation of Labor has collaborated with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in sending out a joint message declaring:

"The hour has struck to make good our faith in democracy, to bring success to a great constructive movement in which labor has ever been the leader. . . . Let the International Disarmament Conference know that the heart of America beats high in determination. Let this be America's greatest demonstration, America's greatest mandate, America's greatest pledge of faith for the peace of the world."

Buy 25% Less Coal This Winter

And, at the same time secure more uniform heat, steady hot water supply, speedier starting up of heat in the morning, less ash to handle, elimination of coal gases. Accomplish all these things at once, by installing in your furnace or heating plant the scientific device that's guaranteed to reduce your fuel consumption 25% or more.

GOOD HEAT WASTED UP THE CHIMNEY

IN the average heating plant, a big percentage of the heat generated by the burning of fuel is wasted outright. It's allowed to escape up the chimney in the form of gases. It would be hard to estimate just what these losses amount to. It has been declared that, could these gases be diverted to another furnace and consumed, the second furnace would give out practically as much heat as the one that generated the gases.

Now, these gases are actually a part of your fuel, because, when brought in contact with oxygen, further combustion takes place and they are consumed. And, combustion, as any scientist will tell you, is the source of all heat.

HOW THIS WASTE HEAT MAY BE SAVED

It seems a simple thing, doesn't it, to cut off the escape of these heat-bearing gases, and send them back into the furnace again to be burned? Yet, until the invention of Burnall, this had never been found possible. Partly because no one ever before found a way to provide sufficient oxygen to burn up all the gases.

But, Burnall, at the same time it is capturing the fleeing gases, is mixing them with fresh oxygen and driving them back into the fire to be consumed. Thus it is materially increasing the heat produced from the amount of fuel used. This means, in short, *more heat from less coal.*

WHAT IS BURNALL?

It is a simply constructed metal device which can be attached to the smoke pipe of any boiler, furnace or stove. No tearing-

down or rebuilding required. Once attached, it needs no adjusting, cleaning or attention of any kind. It does its work automatically, steadily, day and night. It is indestructible, no parts to renew.

ITS RESULTS INSTANTLY NOTICEABLE

The heat will be even and uniform. It will hold practically throughout the night with banked fires. It will come to normal in the morning in less than a quarter of the time usually required. Instead of starting your fires at 5 o'clock in order to get a full head by 7, you may, with Burnall, start at 6:30.

You will always have an ample supply of hot water at the taps. In consequence, your water bill will be reduced and the "no hot water" complaint will disappear.

Your ash will be reduced 15 to 50 per cent., which means lower handling cost. Clinkers will be reduced, which means much longer life for grate bars.

The life of the whole plant will be lengthened, because, with uniform heat, the destructive processes of expansion and contraction, which come with the alternate superheating and chilling of iron, are materially lessened.

Burnall is moderate in price and very quickly earns back its installation cost in saved fuel. It comes in sizes to fit all makes of hot air furnaces, steam boilers, hot water boilers, hot water heaters. We gladly submit estimates without obligation.

THE BURNALL GUARANTEE

We install Burnall with the positive written guarantee of at least 25% fuel saving or remove Burnall at no expense to you.

"40 PER CENT SAVED"

The following letter from Mr. Cleveland P. Manning, who manages the properties of Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md., former Secretary of the Navy, is typical of the experience of many Burnall owners.

"During the Spring and Summer of 1917, I had eight Burnalls installed on hot water heaters, and an actual test made in each

case. The average saving was about 40% and there was more hot water, less ashes and clinkers, and the heaters required less attention.

"Since that time, I have installed eight more Burnalls on the larger boilers of my buildings, making sixteen installations in all.

"Considering that these were made on ten different buildings, handled by different firemen, I feel justified in saying that Burnall is an unqualified success."

LONG LIST OF USERS

Hundreds of individuals and business organizations have expressed their satisfaction over the savings made by Burnall. Here are a very few:

Columbia Trust Company; Corn Exchange Bank (several branches); Joseph Shenk (over 70 Burnalls in apartment houses); Weil & Mayer (40 Burnalls); J. L. Mott Iron Works; United Cigar Stores Co.; Colonial Hotel; Children's Aid Society; Jefferson Market Court, New York City.

Mechanics' Bank; N. Y. & Queens Electric Light & Power Co.; Brooklyn Police Dept.; Brooklyn Fire Dept.; Borden's Milk Co.; Second Church of Christ Scientist, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Chicago Union Hospital; Victor Brothers (florists); National Investment Co., Chicago. St. Louis Union Trust Co., St. Louis. Dept. of Public Safety, Cleveland. Board of Education, Piqua, O. Lippencotts Dept. Store, Wilmington, Del. C. W. Fisher Furniture Co., Milwaukee, Wis. Heim Cement Products Co., La Porte, Ind. First National Bank, Auburn, Neb. Walker Theatre, Winnipeg, Man., and many, many others.

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Now—before your furnace gets under way for the cold weather, and before you've begun paying heavy coal bills—find out more about Burnall. Mail attached coupon for complete information regarding our Free Trial Offer.

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Royal Burnall Fuel Saver, Inc.,
140 Nassau St., New York

Please send me full information showing how I can save 25% or more on my fuel bills by the use of Burnall, also your plan for installing Burnall on trial.*

Type of building (house, apartment, office building, factory)

Number of tenants or families

Number of rooms to be heated

Type of heating plant

Average amount of

coal used per season

Name

Address

* Our representatives install Burnalls and

allow free use for 30 days. If at the end of

that time you are not more than satisfied, they

will cheerfully remove Burnall, without obli-

gation or expense. You will be the judge.

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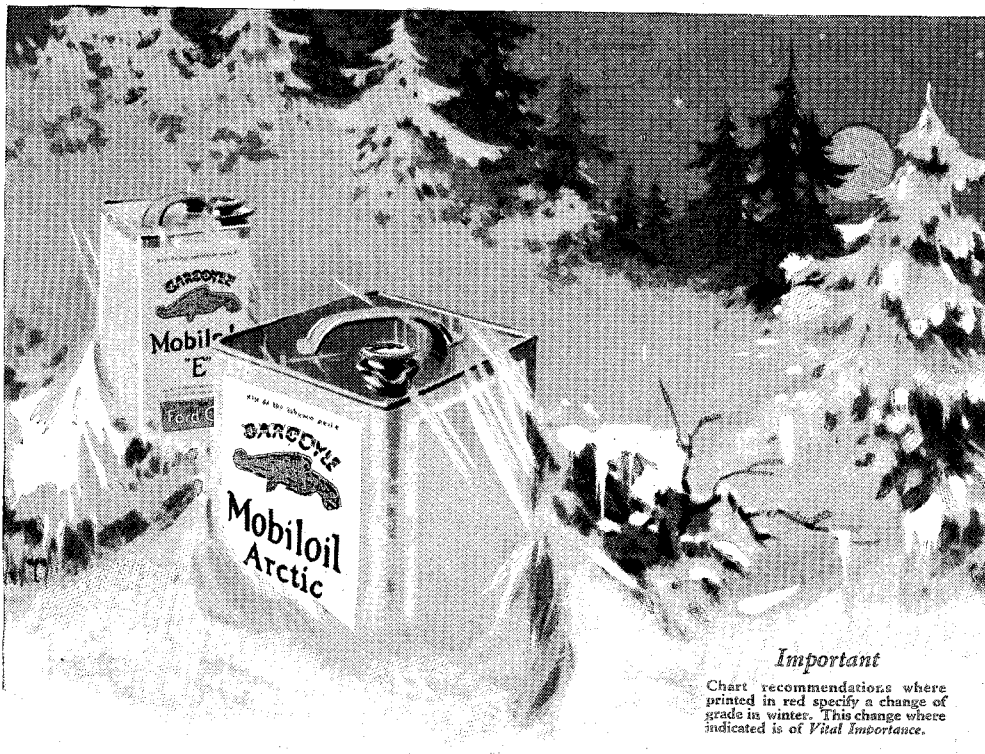
There's good money in being "The Man Who Cuts Down Coal Bills." The winter of 1921-22 is going to be a period of economy and thrift—and the weather man says it's going to be a good, cold one, too.

To men of ambition who, reading this page, are struck with the real meaning of 25% or more saving on fuel bills, we offer the opportunity to obtain district managerships for Burnall.

With very limited capital, a live wire can secure exclusive territory. Men now engaged in this work are making \$5,000 to \$30,000 per year.

Write, stating reasons why you should have the territory you would like to control. Address:

George H. Jackson, General Manager
ROYAL BURNALL FUEL SAVER, Inc.
140 Nassau Street, New York



Important

Chart recommendations where printed in red specify a change of grade in winter. This change where indicated is of *Vital Importance*.

Do you Change in Winter?

Why many cars require lighter oil of greater fluidity in cold weather

MANY cold weather engine troubles can be traced to one fact:

In some cars the oil that may give excellent results in warm weather, is not suitable for winter lubrication. The oil congeals and fails to reach all friction points.

Whether your car is one that requires in winter a lighter oil of greater fluidity depends upon the engine design. The factors that determine this are:

The type of lubricating system, the location of the oil pump, the size and mesh of the oil screen, and the size and exposure of the oil piping.

Failure to use the correct oil in winter may result in unnecessary wear through insufficient lubrication. Due to the type of oil pump or its location above the oil level, it is often impossible to properly distribute the heavier congealed oils for some minutes after the engine is started, or until the oil has "thawed out" from the heat of the engine:



Mobil oils

A grade for each type of motor

Domestic Branches:

New York (Main Office)
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Boston
Minneapolis

Chicago
Buffalo

Philadelphia
Des Moines

Detroit
Dallas

Pittsburgh
Kansas City, Kan.

Chart of Recommendations

(Abbreviated Edition)

How to Read the Chart:

THE correct grades of Gargoyle Mobil oils for engine lubrication of both passenger and commercial cars are specified in the Chart below.

A means Gargoyle Mobil oil "A"

B means Gargoyle Mobil oil "B"

E means Gargoyle Mobil oil "E"

Arc means Gargoyle Mobil oil Arctic

Where different grades are recommended for summer and winter use, the winter recommendations should be followed during the entire period when freezing temperatures may be experienced.

The recommendations for prominent makes of engines used in many cars are listed separately for convenience.

The Chart of Recommendations is compiled by the Vacuum Oil Company's Board of Automotive Engineers, and represents our professional advice on correct automobile lubrication.

NAMES OF AUTOMOBILES AND MOTOR TRUCKS	1921		1920		1919		1918		1917	
	Summer	Winter	Summer	Winter	Summer	Winter	Summer	Winter	Summer	Winter
Acson (1 and 1 1/2 ton).....	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc
" (2 ton).....	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc	A	Arc
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Aene (Cadillac, Mich.) (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Alton.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Apperson (8 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Armstrong (1 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Atterbury (Med. E-E).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Autocar.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Design.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Bedford (12 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Briscoe.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Brockway (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Butch.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Cadillac.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Chalmers.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Chandler Six.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Chevrolet (8 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 49).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Cleveland.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Clydesdale (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Commerce.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Cunningham.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Dodge (Model 1).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Dodge Brothers.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Dodge.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Edsel.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Ford.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Four Wheel Drive.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Franklin.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Gafford (2 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (3 1/2 5 6 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
G. M. C. Trucks.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Graham-Packard (Model 300).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Grant (6 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Com.) (Model 12).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Gray.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Haynes (6 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (12 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Holmes.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Hudson Super Six.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Hupmobile.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
International.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Kissel Kar (12 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Kocher (Model M and MT).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
LaFayette (Indianapolis).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Lange.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Lexington (Continental Eng.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Liberty.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Jacobs.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Mack (5 1/2 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Mack.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Marmont.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Maxwell.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Mazda.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Meteor (Philadelphia).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Mitchell.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Nash.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 67).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Com.) (Model 67).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (1 ton and 2 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
National (6 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (12 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Overland.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Packard.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Pierce (6 cyl.).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Pierce-Arrow.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Commercial) (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Pontiac.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Reo.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Rockwell.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
R. & V. Knott.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Saxon.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Schmidt (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Service (220).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (220, 130, 140, 150).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Stearns-Knight.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Stearns.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Stewart (Buffalo) (Com.) (5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 7 & 10).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Stutz.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Temple.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Vim (Model 22, 23 & 24).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 25).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
White (16 valve).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (3 and 5 ton).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
White-Hickory.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Wichita (Model O).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model RXX).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Willis-Knight.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Willis Six.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Winton.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

Prominent Makes of Engines

Beaver (Models 1A-1B and J).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Buda (Models ATU-BTU-CTU).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Models ATU-BTU-CTU).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Models ATU-BTU-CTU).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Continental (Model 1).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 1).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
G. B. & S. (Model AA).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Hendrickson.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" (Model 1).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Linker.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Lycoming.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Northway (Model 108).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Rochester (Duesenberg).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Waukesha (Models CU-DU).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Wichita.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Wichita (Model 1).....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
" All Other Models.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

VACUUM OIL COMPANY

WAR · AND · THE · POETS

Unsolicited contributions to this department cannot be returned.

IN choosing poetry appropriate to our special number we find it necessary to turn back a bit. Those who sang during the days of heated strife are stilled now, perhaps waiting to see what the powers who are to frame our future courses will do; perhaps because it is a task in which the people play no active part. Yet from that past day when everybody sought to find and to do his part there were spoken words which are fitting for the issues of to-day. Here is a plea for "Everlasting Peace" that comes from one who knew what the horrors of the Line were. He was in the British service and his volume is called "War Daubs" (John Lane).

FROM THE LINE

By R. WATSON KERR

Have you seen men come from the Line,
Tottering, doddering, as if bad wine
Had drugged their very souls;
Their garments rent with holes
And caked with mud
And streaked with blood
Of others, or their own;
Haggard, weary-limbed and chilled to the bone,
Trudging aimless, hopeless, on
With listless eyes and faces drawn
Taut with woe?

Have you seen them aimless go
Bowed down with muddy pack
And muddy rifle slung on back,
And soaking overcoat,
Staring on with eyes that note
Nothing but the mire
Quenched of every fire?

Have you seen men when they come
From shell-holes filled with scum
Of mud and blood and flesh,
Where there's nothing fresh
Like grass, or trees, or flowers,
And the numbing year-like hours
Lag on—drag on,
And the hopeless dawn
Brings naught but death, and rain—
The rain a fiend of pain
That scourges without end,
And Death, a smiling friend?

Have you seen men when come from hell?
If not—ah, well
Speak not with easy eloquence
That seems like sense
Of 'War and its Necessity'
And do not rant, I pray,
On 'War's Magnificent Nobility'!

If you've seen men come from the Line
You'll know it's Peace that is divine!
If you've not seen the things I've sung—
Let silence bind your tongue,
But, make all wars to cease,
And work, and work for Everlasting Peace!

In "Songs from the Trenches" (Harper and Brothers) it is alleged by the editor, Herbert Adams Gibbons, that "the soul of the A. E. F." is here enshrined. These poems contributed by service men were submitted in competition for a prize offered by the New York Herald. It must be admitted that not all or even the majority have the somberness of these we select, but it also happens that the cheerfulest ones come from men in non-combatant service.

I WANT TO GO HOME

By PRIVATE CHARLES B. BISHOP,
Battery C, 102d Regiment Field Artillery

I want to go home, wailed the private,
The corporal and sergeant the same.

I'm sick of the camp and the drilling,
The grub and the rest of the game.
I'm willing to do all the fighting
They give me in any old way;
But my girl's all alone,
And I went to go home,
And I want to go home to-day.

I've drilled till my back was breaking,
Till near crazed for the sake of a drink,
And rode till my bones was cracking,
And hadn't the gumption to think.
I've done my whole share of policing and guard,
And now I'm tired of my lay;
For my girl's all alone,
And I want to go home,
And I want to go home to-day.

Do they need us a-dying in bunches?
They say it's the water and such;
We think more likely we're homesick,
But the life of a private ain't much.
They know we can fight if we have to,
And they won't have to show us the way;
But my girl's all alone,
And I want to go home,
And I want to go home to-day.

TO THE RECRUITIN' SERGEANT

By SERGEANT GEORGE C. DAWSON
Company A, 19th Railway Engineers

"Oh, this army life's the candy for the guy that
wants it soft,
And the uniforms is free and so's the eats.
Just sign your name right here, please. We'll
take you 'round the earth.
For the wise ones, it's the life that can't be
beat."

But! Did you ever cross the "briny" in a trans-
port?
Was you among the guys that went to France?
Did you ever sleep belowdecks when the "subs"
was all around
And your life-belt was your one and only
chance?

Did you ever go a-tourin' in a third-class English
train,
With the girls a-wavin' howdy from the street,
And land somewhere at midnight with your legs
all tied in knots,
And have to march three miles before you eat?

Did you ever come a-crawlin' from a leaky, soakin'
tent,
When the sergeant called sometime before the
dawn,
And help to guy a mess-tent that was blowin' all
to smash,
And all your next day's rations soaked and gone?

Did you ever cross the Channel in an antique side-
wheel tub,
And freeze all night upon a heavin' deck,
And land "Somewhere in France" next day un-
shaven and unshorn,
And the old high-water mark around your neck?

Did you ever spend a fortnight in an alleged
restin'-camp,
And listen to a thousand tales or more,
About the Somme and Vimy Ridge, the Marne,
and other scraps
And wonder why in hell you came to war?

Did you ever ride a "rattler" on the old Chemin
de Fer
In a car marked "Eight Chevaux or Forty
Hommes,"
And finally hit the trenches with your guts up
in your throat,
When you heard the Lewis barkin' and the
bombs?

Did you ever see the star-shells flamin' ghastly
in the sky?
Did the shrapnel ever dent your tin chapeau?
Did you ever pass your canteen just to help your
"buddy" die,
When the gas come down and caught the
"Blighter" slow?

"Oh, this army's life's the candy for the guy that
wants it soft,
And the uniforms is free and so's the eats.
Just sign your name right here, please. We'll
take you 'round the earth.
For the wise ones, it's the life that can't be
beat."

HERE is Dos Passos's book in epitome,
from the pen of the poet Sassoon who,
perhaps, more than any other of England's
war poets felt the futility and the waste
of killing.

"THEY"

By SIEGFRIED SASSOON

The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back
They will not be the same; for they'll have fought
In a just cause: they lead the last attack
On Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has bought
New right to breed an honorable race,
They have challenged Death and dared him face
to face."

"We're none of us the same!" the boys reply,
"For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone
blind;
Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;
And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find
A chap who's served that hasn't found some
change."
And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are
strange!"

CONSIDERABLE interest is manifested in
Washington in a poem published in the
Junior Red Cross News, especially as at-
tention of most people there is concen-
trated on the Conference.

ARMISTICE DAY, 1918-1921

By ETHEL BLAIR JORDAN

"Cease firing!" Over all the world
The swords were sheathed, the banners furled.
"The War is dead!" the nations sang;
Ten thousand thousand joy-bells rang!
Hosannas rose from every shore,
"Peace, peace is ours forevermore!"

Before the joyous shouting died
Dark war-clouds gathered far and wide.
Men could not swiftly sweep away
War's desolating tempest-sway.
That down the ancient, wrathful years
Has held them captive to their fears.

In minds too young for enmity
There lies the way to make men free.
When children's friendships are world-wide
New ages will be glorified.
Let child love child, and wars will cease;
Disarm the hearts, for that is Peace.

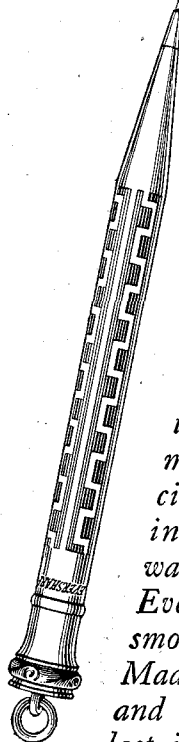
WRITTEN by an English soldier and
printed in his volume "Neighbors" (Mac-
millan) is this which may stand as an ad-
monition to all coming generations:

TO MICHAEL

By WILFRID WILSON GIBSON

If the promise of your coming's true,
And you should live through years of peace,
O son of mine, forget not these,
The sons of man, who died for you.

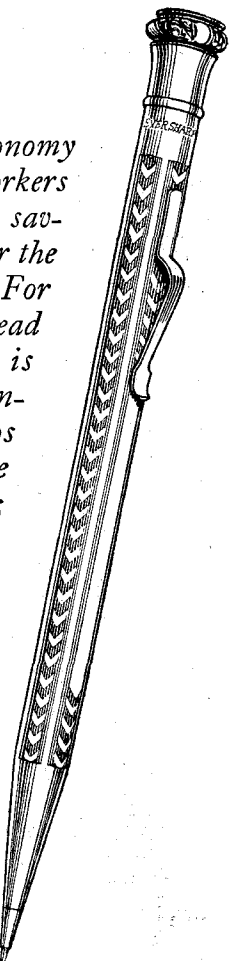
Memo to the President



YOU will find it real economy to equip your office workers with Eversharp Pencils. The saving thus effected soon pays for the initial cost of the equipment. For each pencil carries enough lead to write a book and new lead is much cheaper than wooden pencils. Furthermore, with Eversharps in the office there is no time wasted at the pencil sharpener; Eversharp always provides a smooth, sharp point for writing. Made with Wahl precision in silver and in gold, these pencils will last indefinitely. We have never heard of one wearing out. Be sure you get the genuine Eversharp. The name is on the pencil.

THE WAHL COMPANY, Chicago

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FOUR LEGAL MINDS TO OPPOSE LAW AGAINST ARMS AND VIOLENCE.

America's spokesmen, all trained in the theory and practise of jurisprudence, are thus allocated by the New York *Tribune*: "Mr. Hughes represents the Administration. Mr. Lodge and Mr. Underwood represent the Senate and the two party groups in it, the former being the majority leader and the latter the minority leader. Mr. Root represents the public and, more especially, that body of intelligent opinion striving for a fuller enforcement of international law and for larger international cooperation, which has long looked to him for leadership." Every one will recognize, from left to right, Mr. Root, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Lodge.

WHO'S WHO AT THE CONFERENCE

PLAIN LAWYERS, STATESMEN with legal training, and authorities on international law so largely predominate in the Conference that future historians, who may agree with the contemporary public in finding the official title, "The Conference on Limitation of Armament," both too indefinite and too bundlesome, may be justified in calling it for short "The Lawyers' Conference." The counselors of the nations, in this supreme attempt to safeguard the lives, fortunes, and sacred honor of the world's citizens, almost all had preliminary training as counselors at law. A review of the thirty-two delegates who head the delegations representing the chief nations reveals a selected group of the most famous statesmen of the day, most of whom have built their achievements on a legal basis. Ex-President Wilson's statement that he wanted no lawyers mixed up in the Versailles Treaty may be recalled, together with Ex-Secretary of State Lansing's

rejoinder that he would rather trust lawyers than diplomats. Old-line professional diplomats, men who have spent their lives in the diplomatic service, are notable for their scarcity. Less than half a dozen of the delegates can be included in this category. The remainder are scattered through almost as many professions as there are remaining delegates. A prince, an admiral, a railway director, a labor leader, a social worker, an editor, and a military authority are among the delegates present. Far greater variety is shown, of course, among the hosts of experts that accompany the delegates and make up the complete delegations.



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A PRINCE FROM THE EAST

He is Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, with a European reputation as a "democratic aristocrat," one of the three leaders of the complete Japanese delegation of some seventy members.

Our own delegation, which observers both here and abroad look upon as the mainspring of the Conference, is headed by three former lawyers, Secretary Hughes, Mr. Root and Mr. Underwood, and one member, Senator Lodge, who was admitted to the bar. The British delegation, which includes representatives from Canada, New Zealand, India and Australia, is led by an ex-lawyer, and contains numerous other legal minds in its personnel. Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, will act as alternate during the postponement of the visit of the Premier, David Lloyd George. These two delegations, the British and the American, predicts Samuel Blythe, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, can effectively guarantee the success of the Conference if they will work together. The Englishmen, to take up their names and achievements in order, are:

THE RIGHT HONORABLE DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, O. M., Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

He is fifty-eight years old, a solicitor by profession, and has been a Member of Parliament for Carnarvon, Wales, since 1890. His advance to the highest post in his country came by the successive steps of the offices of President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Munitions, and Secretary of State for War. His present appointment dates from 1916, and he has directed the policies of Great Britain through the most difficult and trying period of modern history. He is, says Isaac F. Marcossin, "the most picturesque and challenging figure of the English-speaking race," and a Cockney publicist once said of him, "E's the bloke wot they gets to do wot no other bloke



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A DIPLOMATIC BARON

The Japanese Ambassador at Washington, Baron Kijuro Shidehara, chosen as one of the three representatives of his country, has been characterized as "one of the most able of active diplomats."



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AN ADMIRAL AND SCHOLAR

As Minister of the Japanese Navy, and as the author of several naval commentaries, Admiral Kato is said to be worthy of upholding Japanese dignity both on the Pacific and at the Conference.

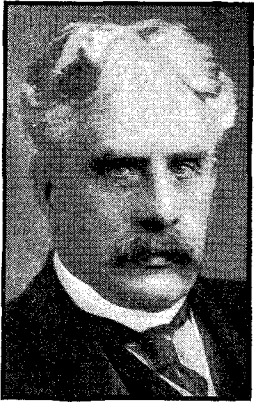
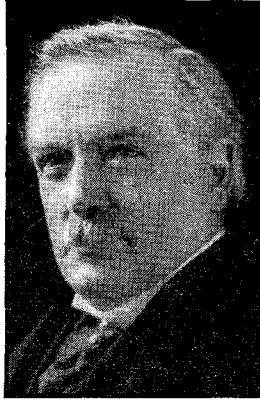


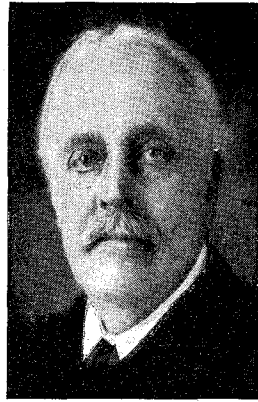
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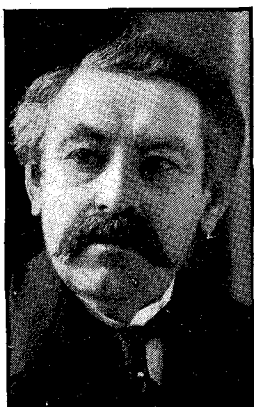
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FOUR MEN FROM ENGLAND—AND ONE FROM CANADA.

The agreement of the American and British representatives, in the view of many editorial commentators, will guarantee the success of the Conference. The man shown at the extreme left, Sir Robert Borden, former Premier of Canada, is counted on to help them agree, since, if his background is English, he is said to recognize that Canada and America are in the same boat when it comes to world politics. The other men are, reading from left to right, Lord Lee, Lloyd George, A. J. Balfour and Sir Auckland Geddes.

can't, or else is 'fraid to." Sir Philip Gibbs, the journalist, who does not approve of most of his recent policies, says he is "at bottom an idealist."

THE RIGHT HONORABLE ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, O. M., F. R. S., Lord President of the Council, was born in 1848. He has interested himself deeply in educational work, especially in connection with the Scotch universities. The more important of his many offices have been those of Secretary for Scotland, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Prime Minister, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Lord President of the Council since 1919. He headed the British Mission to the United States in 1917. He is the author of several works on philosophical and economic subjects, and his philosophical temper makes him, in the words of Sir Beerbohm Tree, a man "calm in crisis and unfussed in victory."



FRANCE'S LEADER.

Aristide Briand, Premier of France, is a Celt, like Lloyd George of England, and like him also in many other ways. In common with several of the most influential delegates, he is of humble birth, and is backed by a thorough legal education.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD LEE OF FAREHAM, G. B. E., K. C. B., First Lord of the Admiralty, has traveled widely over the Far East and the North American Continent. Born in 1868, in his youth he served in the Royal Artillery and later became Professor of Strategy and Tactics in the Royal Military College, Canada. He was a British Military Attaché with the United States Army during the Spanish-American War, and later an attaché at Washington, where he married Miss Ruth Moore, of New York. Altho he had retired from the British Army in 1900, he reentered it during 1914 as Colonel. Among this various parliamentary and military offices, he served in the Ministry of Munitions, as Personal Military Secretary to the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Lloyd George, in 1916, as Director-General of Food Production, and Minister of Agriculture. He received his present appointment in February, 1921.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN, G. C. M. G., K. C., M. P., former Prime Minister of Canada, and representative of Canada at the Conference, is said to believe in the "general principle that in foreign relations in which one or other of the Dominions has a paramount interest, the view of the Dominion in question shall be not merely heard and considered but shall prevail." He was born in 1854, practised law in Canada, served in the Canadian Parliament for many years, and has been leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons since 1901. He was Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920, and represented that country in the Imperial War Cabinet, 1917, and at the Imperial War Conference, 1918.

SENATOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE F. PEARCE, J. P., Australian Minister for Defense, and representative of Australia at the Conference, began life as a carpenter and joiner. His first public work was in organizing trades unions and political associations.

He has headed various labor bodies, and since 1901 has been a Member of the Australian Parliament. His terms of service as Minister of Defense cover 1908-9, 1910-13, and since 1914. In 1911 he was chosen as a Member of the Imperial Conference. He is a writer, chiefly on labor subjects.

MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, Member of the Vice-Regal Council of the Government of India, will represent India at the Conference. Called "the outstanding representative of moderate opinion in India," he is considered the most prominent non-official leader of the Moderate Party. His first international fame came when he was appointed to represent the people of India at the Imperial Conference in London in 1921. He is President of the Servants of India Society, an organization devoted chiefly to social and humanitarian work.

THE HONORABLE SIR J. W. SALMOND, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, will represent that Dominion at the Conference. He was born in England, but went to New Zealand, where he became a Barrister of the Supreme Court in 1887. Later he was Professor of Law at the University of Adelaide and at Victoria University College in Wellington. His political offices have been those of Counsel to the Law Drafting Office of the New Zealand Government and Solicitor-General for New Zealand, and he is a writer on legal history and jurisprudence.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, K. C. B., British Ambassador at Washington, will act as a delegate in the absence of the Prime Minister or of any other delegate. He has been Professor of Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, and at McGill University in Montreal, and he was also Principal of the last-named university in 1919-1920. During the South African War he became a Lieutenant of the Third Highland Light Infantry, and served also in the European War in 1914-1916. Later he was made successively Director of Recruiting, Minister of National Service, President of the Local Government Board, Minister of Reconstruction, and President of the Board of Trade. In 1920 he was appointed Ambassador to the United States.

THE JAPANESE REPRESENTATIVES

PRINCE TOKUGAWA, while in Washington in 1910, was introduced by "Uncle Joe" Cannon, to every member of Congress then present. Among the members, says the *Newark News*, was Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson, the most rabid anti-Japanese in the House, and as everybody applauded, Prince Tokugawa knew, he afterwards told a news correspondent in Tokyo, "there could be no war between Japan and the United States."

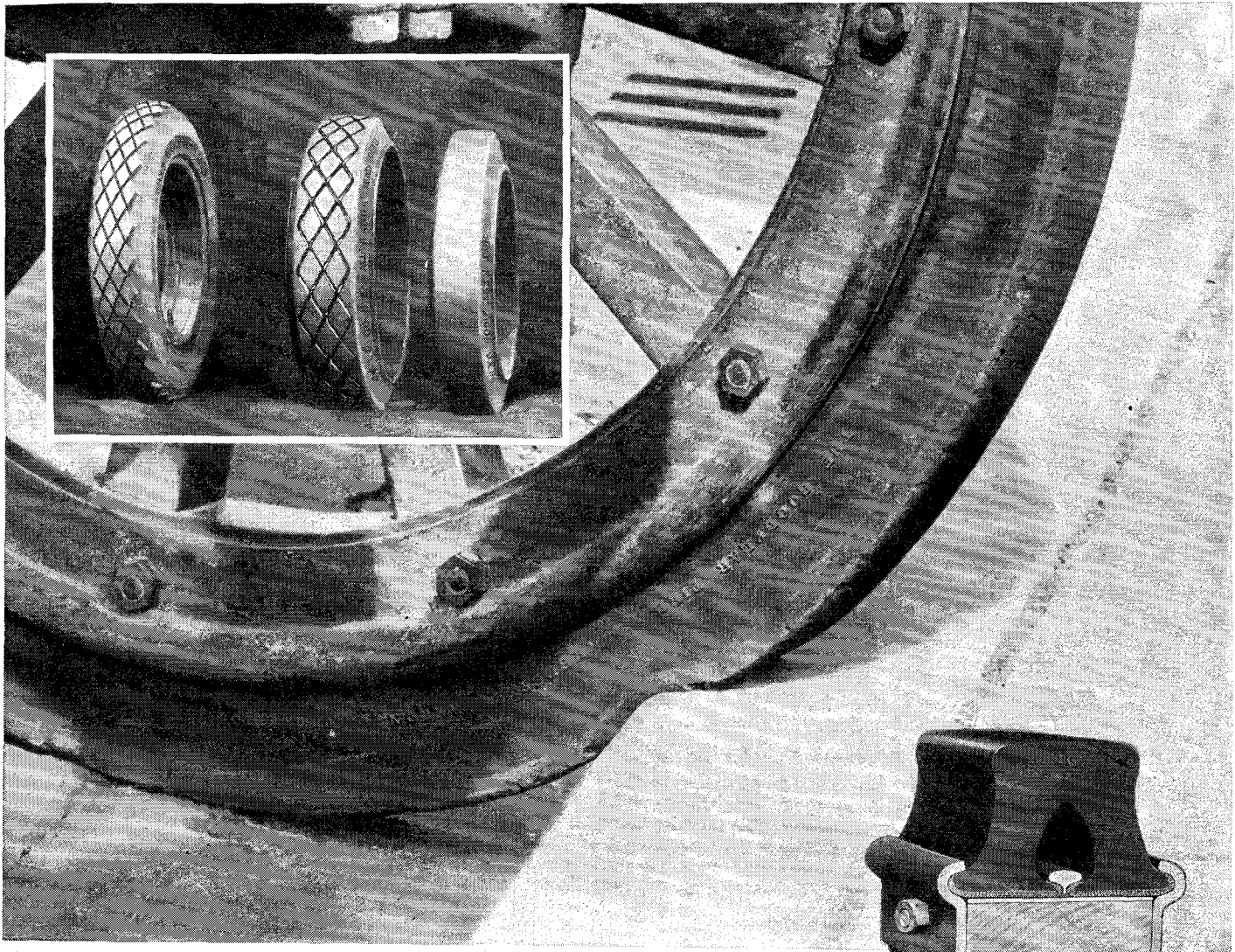


ITALY'S LAWYER

Signor Schanzer, who will speak for Italy, is a Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Naples. He is the author of many juridical studies, and is said to be "a special authority on emigration," as it affects Italy and America.

GOODYEAR

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Actual photograph of Goodyear Cushion Tire after 25,000 miles of running in two years service for the Boston Store, Chicago, Illinois; insert of cross section of Goodyear Cushion Truck Tire, showing Goodyear Patented Hollow Center Construction

THE utmost in cushioning and wearing capacity is furnished uninterruptedly by Goodyear Cushion Tires. They are recommended as equipment on all four wheels of lighter trucks and on front wheels of trucks engaged in heavy duty. Throughout their long life they never lose their resilience, because their cushioning action results from their Goodyear patented hollow-center design. This center is egg-shaped, with convex sides that flex easily and absorb the shocks of the road, protecting the truck and the load in rough going. Goodyear Cushion Tires come in sizes that fit standard wheels, and are easily and quickly applied. For other types of hauling, Goodyear makes other special tires—Goodyear All-Weather Tread Solid Tires, Goodyear Cord Truck Tires. Call upon your Goodyear dealer for the benefit of his unbiased judgment in selecting the particular Goodyear Tire that will serve you longest and best.

But for the matter of a little revolution in 1867, the Prince would to-day be the real ruler of Japan in place of the present Emperor. He is "not only a prince of the blood, and the head of the descendants of the last of the Shoguns, but he is also President of the House of Peers, a democrat in his views and actions, a member of no political party, and a student of international affairs." He is also a globe-trotter, a fluent speaker of English, and a "cultured philosopher with a sense of humor."

He will be accompanied, still to quote the *Newark News*, by "an assistant as secretary general of the delegation who is one of the most diplomatic of the younger officials of the empire."



Photo International

BELGIUM'S DELEGATE

Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Belgian Ambassador to the United States, will serve as his country's representative at the Conference, assisted by a number of Belgian advisers from Brussels and the Far East.

This is Masaro Hanihara, who has spent twelve years in America as an attaché of the Japanese Embassy at Washington and as consul-general at San Francisco. He, too, speaks English perfectly, has a wide acquaintance and never forgets a face or a name. He is a hail-fellow-well-met, who makes friends at every turn, but is not superficial. He has been a student of American affairs, and so imprest upon the Government at Tokyo his views that he has served as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is expected to prove as much an asset to Japan at the Conference as was Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo for China during the peace negotiations at Paris.

ADMIRAL KATO, Minister of the Navy, was chosen, says the *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), because he has expert knowledge of the parts of the Pacific which will come under review, and is also a skilled diplomat with a knowledge of English. The *Yamato* (Tokyo) says that the appointment is criticized on the ground that, "in Prussia of

old, military men have been often appointed to represent that country in peace conferences in order to break them up. It is likely that Japan will be misunderstood as trying to imitate the old German methods." Admiral Kato's expressions of hope for the success of the Conference, on landing at San Francisco, seemed calculated to allay any fears along this line.

The Vice-Admiral, according to "Who's Who in Japan," was born in 1859, of Samurai stock, graduated from the Naval College, and reached the rank of Vice-Admiral in 1908. During the Russo-Japanese War he is said to have been the "right-hand officer of Admiral Togo and Kamimura."

Jiji, of Tokyo, explains for the information of the public, and also of many American newspaper editors who have accepted Prince Tokugawa as the leader of the delegation that—

"In the order of ranking in the imperial court, Prince Tokugawa is classed lower than Admiral Baron Kato and Baron Shidehara. But the duties of the delegates should not be determined by that order alone. There is no question but that Prince Tokugawa, for many years the President of the House of Peers, is, in point of popularity, far above a cabinet minister and an ambassador abroad. That he will occupy the first place among the delegates as did Prince Saionji at the time of the Paris Peace Conference, there is no question. He has no connections with any political party nor with the militarists nor bureaucrats."

BARON KIJURO SHIDEHARA, beginning his career as a graduate from the law college of Tokyo Imperial University in 1895, entered his country's diplomatic service a year later, rose through a succession of appointments all over the world, and reached the post of Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy at Washington in 1912. His term as the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, says *Jiji* of Tokyo,

has proved that he is "eminently fitted for a place among the envoys at the Washington Conference."

THE FRENCH DELEGATION

ARISTIDE BRIAND, Prime Minister of France, "almost invariably goes to the door himself when his bell rings"; manages, with David Lloyd George of England, "to dominate the international scene"; like Lloyd George has "the eloquence, imagination, magnetism" of the Celt; began life in "the humblest circumstances," and is, on the whole, "the most elusive personality in world politics." So says a writer in *Current Opinion*, who adds that "his genius resides wholly in his capacity to create the atmosphere in which the decisive vote must be given. No living politician anywhere in the world has snatched so many victories from so many defeats." Briand, beginning his career as a lawyer, has served as Member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1902. He has held the offices of Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Minister of Justice and Cults, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior. During the war, in 1915-1917, he was Prime Minister, and was reappointed in January, 1921. When his public duties do not require his presence in Paris, he delights in working on his little farm in Normandy, "dressed as a peasant, and driving a good bargain for his produce."

RENÉ VIVIANI, former Prime Minister of France, was born in Algeria, but went to Paris to study law, and remained there. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1893. He is a Socialist, as was Briand, and served as the first head of the Department of Labor when that bureau was created. When, in 1917, he headed the French Mission to America, his power as an orator gained him the epithet "The eloquent voice of France."

SENATOR ALBERT SARRAUT, Minister of Colonies, is a distinguished Member of the Chamber of Deputies, and has held the offices of General Counsel of the canton of Lezignan and Under-Secretary of State for the Interior. As long ago as 1899 he wrote a historical study on the referendum and the plebiscite, and has written on other political subjects.

JULES JUSSERAND, Ambassador to the United States, has held diplomatic posts in London and Copenhagen, and is now Dean of the Ambassadors at Washington, having received his appointment in 1902. He is a noted French authority on English literature and manners, especially of the Elizabethan period, and has written extensively on literary subjects.



Photo Keystone View Co.

TO SPEAK FOR HOLLAND

Jonkheer Dr. H. A. van Karnebeek, Holland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, heads the four delegates from the Netherlands, whose possessions in the Pacific give her a particular interest in the deliberations of the Conference.



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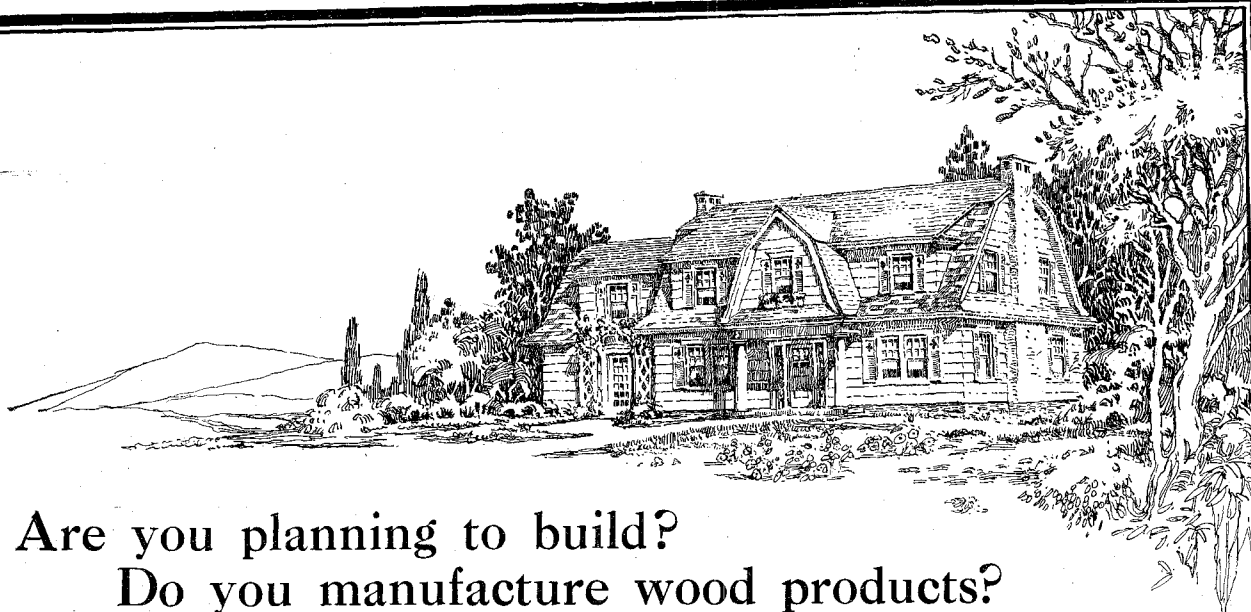
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TWO OF CHINA'S SPOKESMEN

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister in London (shown to the reader's left), and S. Alfred Sze, Minister in Washington, will speak for the North China Government, which alone, in spite of protest from South China, is recognized by the Conference. These two delegates, as well as the other two in the Chinese delegation, were educated in American universities.

THE CHINESE DELEGATES

All of the Chinese delegates are graduates of American Universities. DR. W. W. YEN, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, came to America in 1895, took a degree at the University of Virginia, and went back to China in 1900. He was a professor of English in St. John's University at Shanghai, and English editor of the *Commercial Press*. He has translated many useful books, including the Standard English-Chinese Dictionary, and has been connected with various social and educational organizations. When Dr. Wu Ting Fang was Minister at Washington, in 1908, Dr. Yen was appointed Second Secretary of the Chinese Legation, but was recalled to China a year later to organize and head a press bureau. After various promotions he became Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Minister to Germany and Denmark. He stayed in Germany until after China's declaration



**Are you planning to build?
Do you manufacture wood products?
Are you an Architect or an Engineer?**

THEN you should know that our Redwood lumber and mill work prices, in common with all other lumber prices, are at their lowest point—and it's the right time for the buyer to buy.

Our present prices for Redwood are the result of a thoroughgoing study of every operation in our Redwood production, and are based on adjustments, and improvements in our handling and manufacture of Redwood which have reduced our costs—prices made possible only by big-unit, efficient production in mills covering over 5 acres that have a daily capacity of half a million feet of Redwood lumber.

Therefore, we suggest to every person who is planning to build, to manufacturers of wood specialties, to architects and engineers who are or will be in the market for lumber, that now is the time to place orders for Redwood.

The emphasis which our extensive advertising has placed on the remarkable rot-resisting qualities of Redwood, its endurance under all conditions of exposure to climate, soil moisture, acid and alkaline solutions, its remarkable insulating and fire-resisting qualities, its fitness for interior finish and for such specialties as burial caskets—our emphasis on these properties of

Redwood may have given the impression that Redwood is an expensive wood. Redwood is not expensive.

Many kinds of lumber, which cannot compare with Redwood in quality or length of service or in resistance to rot, decay, fire or chemical action, cost practically as much as Redwood. Moreover, the high percentage of clear wood and the resultant small waste tend further to make Redwood inexpensive, compared with most other woods.

To prospective home builders, desirous of knowing the economies and advantages which the use of Redwood in home building assures, a postcard to our Chicago or New York office will bring our Redwood Construction Booklet featuring Redwood for exterior construction and finish.

Architects, builders and industrial and engineering executives should write for our "Engineering Digest" and "Construction Digest" which contain technical information and standard specifications on the use of Redwood.

Redwood should be specified for

Exterior Construction—

including—Colonial siding, clapboards, shingles, door and window frames—gutters, eaves, water tables and mud sills—porch rails, balusters and columns—mouldings and lattice Pickets and fencing Pergolas and greenhouses

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Tanks and vats for water, chemicals and oil Factory roofs and gutters Wood block flooring

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Such as—Caskets and burial boxes—Incubators and ice cream cabinets—Cigar and candy boxes, etc.

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Such as—Railroad ties and tunnel timbers Signal wire conduits and water tanks Car siding and roofing

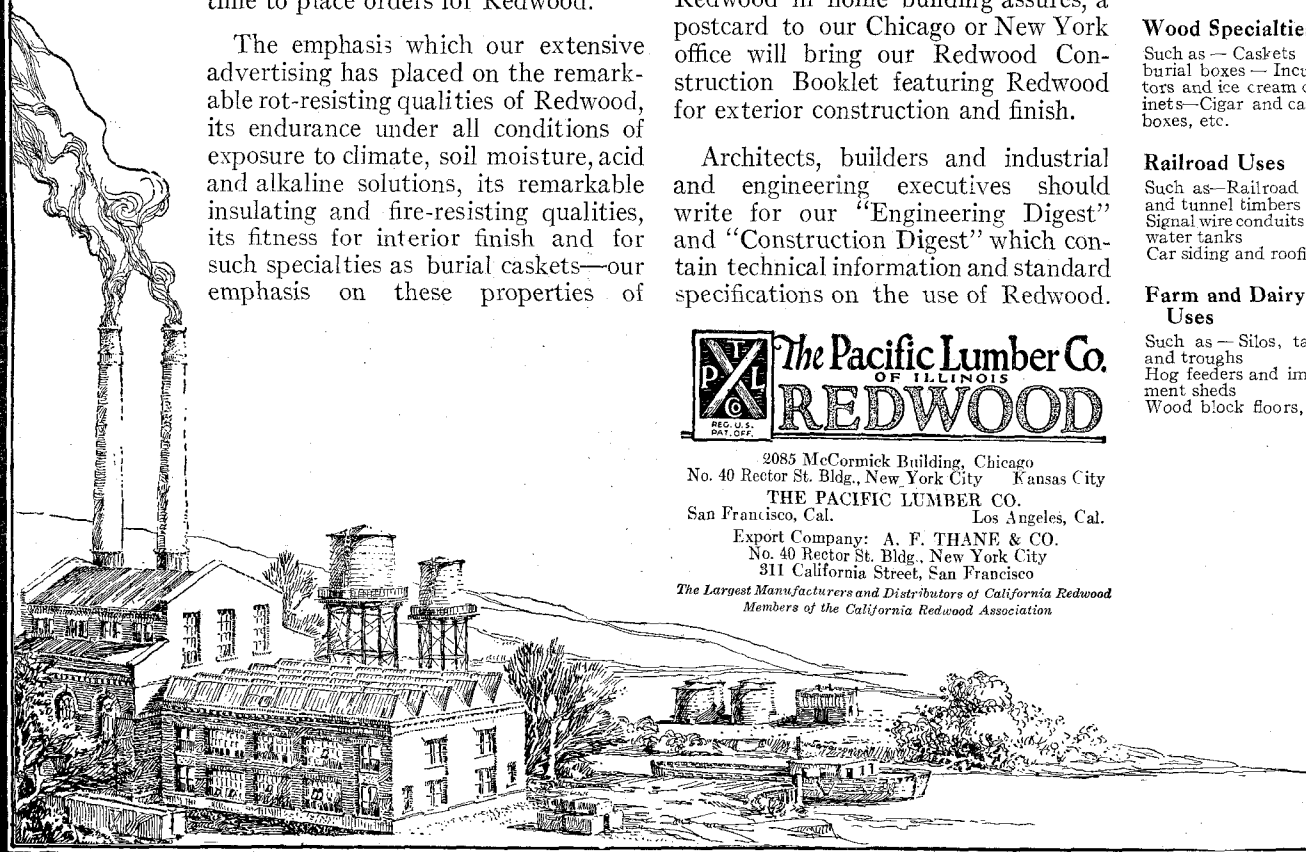
Farm and Dairy Uses

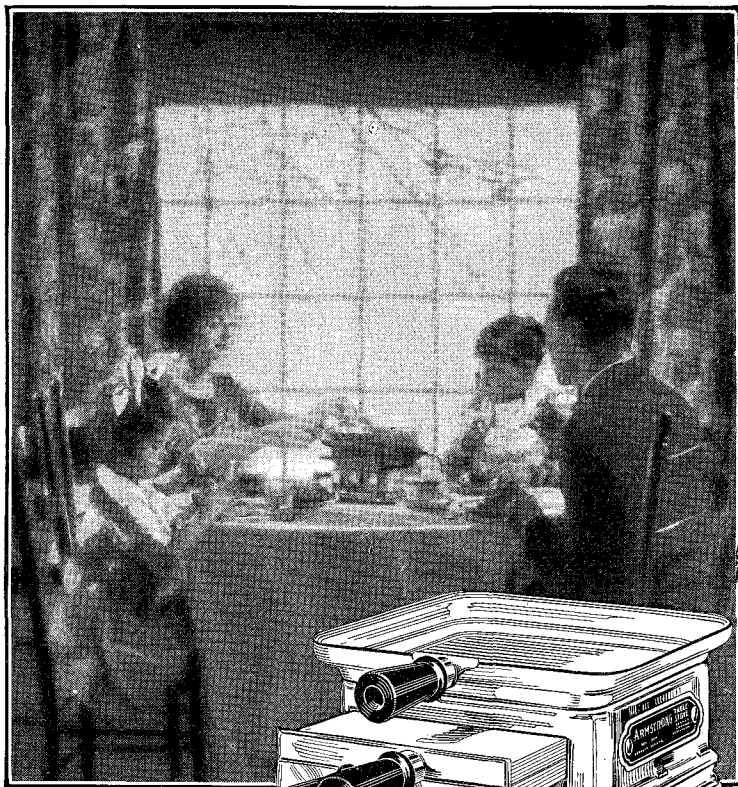
Such as—Silos, tanks and troughs Hog feeders and implement sheds Wood block floors, etc.



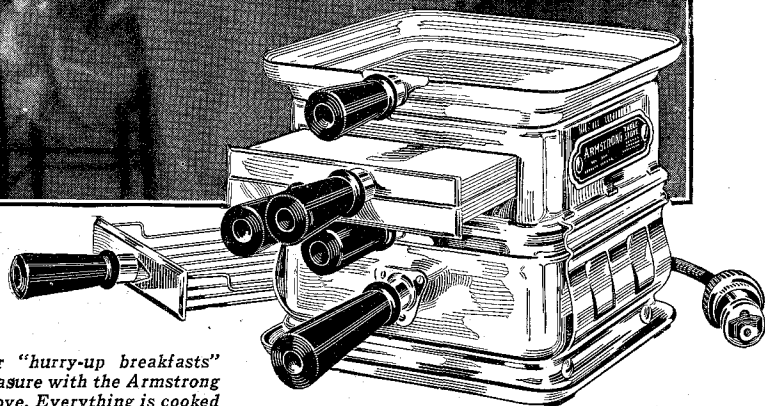
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Even our "hurry-up breakfasts" are a pleasure with the Armstrong Table Stove. Everything is cooked right on the table—waffles and all— piping hot and delicious.



Breakfast for Four

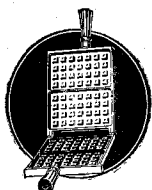
SWITCH on the current—almost instantly the Armstrong Table Stove reaches the proper temperature. Three things all cook at the same time and there is enough of each one to serve four people.

Toast and waffles are browned on both sides at the same time. No turning is necessary. No grease for the waffles. The Armstrong Waffle Iron is greaseless.

You can boil, fry, toast, steam or broil on the Armstrong Table Stove. A complete equipment of light, aluminum utensils comes with the stove: griddle, deep boiling pan, four egg cups and rack and toaster.

The utensils fit snugly into position. The two heat units concentrate all of the heat upon them. None is wasted. The tilting plug that never sticks gives you perfect control of the stove. It costs no more to operate the Armstrong Table Stove than it does to use the ordinary single electric toaster.

The Armstrong Table Stove is for sale by most electrical and hardware dealers. It costs \$12.50. The waffle iron is \$4.00 extra. Write for our booklet B.



ARMSTRONG MANUFACTURING COMPANY
138 W. Seventh Avenue, Huntington, W. Va.

ARMSTRONG TABLE STOVE

PERSONAL GLIMPSES

Continued

of war upon that country, and then went to Denmark and functioned there until May, 1920. His appointment as Foreign Minister was made in August, 1920. His family is said to be "perhaps the only one in China of which all the members received their education in England or America."

DR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE, Chinese Minister at Washington, also received his education in America, coming to this country in 1893 and graduating from Cornell University in 1901. The first of his government appointments was that of Secretary to Viceroy Chang Chi-Tung in 1902. In 1907 he became director of the Peking-Hankow Railway, and in later years he has held other railway directorships. After serving in many diplomatic posts, in 1914 he became Chinese Minister to London, where he remained five years. He was one of the five Chinese delegates attending the Peace Conference at Versailles, and received his appointment as Minister to the United States in February, 1921.

DR. CHUNG-HUI WANG, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Peking, was born in 1882. During the Boxer Rebellion he went to Japan to study political science, and came from there to the United States, where he received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from Yale Law School in 1904. He translated the German Civil Code into English, and his work is considered the best translation of it that has ever been rendered. He traveled in Europe, studying jurisprudence and international law in England, France and Germany. His diplomatic career began in 1907, as Assistant to the Chinese representative to the Second Hague Conference. In 1912 he was appointed first Minister of Justice of the newly formed Republican Government at Peking, but in the same year he resigned, and engaged in editorial work. In 1916 he was appointed President of the Law Codification Commission of China. He served as delegate to the Second Assembly of the League of Nations and has been characterized as "one of the most promising intellectual leaders of the new era in China."

DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, former Chinese Minister to the United States, is the youngest delegate, born in 1888. He is a graduate of Columbia University, and during his student days was a popular member of the university debating team, and served as editor of the *Columbia Spectator*. He returned to China in 1911 and was appointed Secretary to the President of China, later becoming Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1914 he was Counsellor to the Foreign Office. The next year he was named as Chinese Minister to Mexico, but was transferred to Washington, where he acted as Minister until 1921. At the Peace Conference he was China's chief delegate, and later served as the Chinese representative on the Council of the League. He is the author of a book on "The Status of Aliens in China."

THE ITALIAN DELEGATION

MARCHESE DELLA TORRETTA, who heads the delegates from Italy, was made Minis-

ter of Foreign Affairs in July of the present year. He is said to have a profound knowledge of the Balkans, and spent many years of his diplomatic career in Russia. After the war he was Minister at Vienna, and was selected to go to Paris as a member of the Commission for the Rehabilitation of Austria.

SENATOR CARLO SCHANZER, former Minister of the Treasury, was born in Vienna, but became from choice a citizen of Trieste. He began his public career as a vice-librarian of the Senate, and after having held several important positions, he was appointed Minister of the Treasury in the Nitti Cabinet. He has published many works of a juridical nature, the chief of which is on "War and Treaties Law in the States Ruled by Representative Government." After the publication of this book he was appointed Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Naples. He is considered Italy's foremost authority on emigration problems.

SENATOR LUIGI ALBERTINI has been editor of the Milan *Corriere della Sera* since 1900, and is said to have made it "the most important Italian paper." He was one of the chief promoters of Italy's intervention in the Great War, and neutralist senators, according to the English "Who's Who," "fiercely contested his nomination, but they were defeated." He is accompanied by his son, who will act as secretary.

THE DELEGATES FROM HOLLAND

JONKHEER DR. H. A. VAN KARNEBEEK, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was at one time Mayor of The Hague. As Foreign Minister during the war, in spite of the tremendous pressure brought to bear from both sides, Dr. van Karnebeek "stood adamant on Holland's traditional policy of neutrality." He was chosen as President of the first session of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. He is not yet fifty.

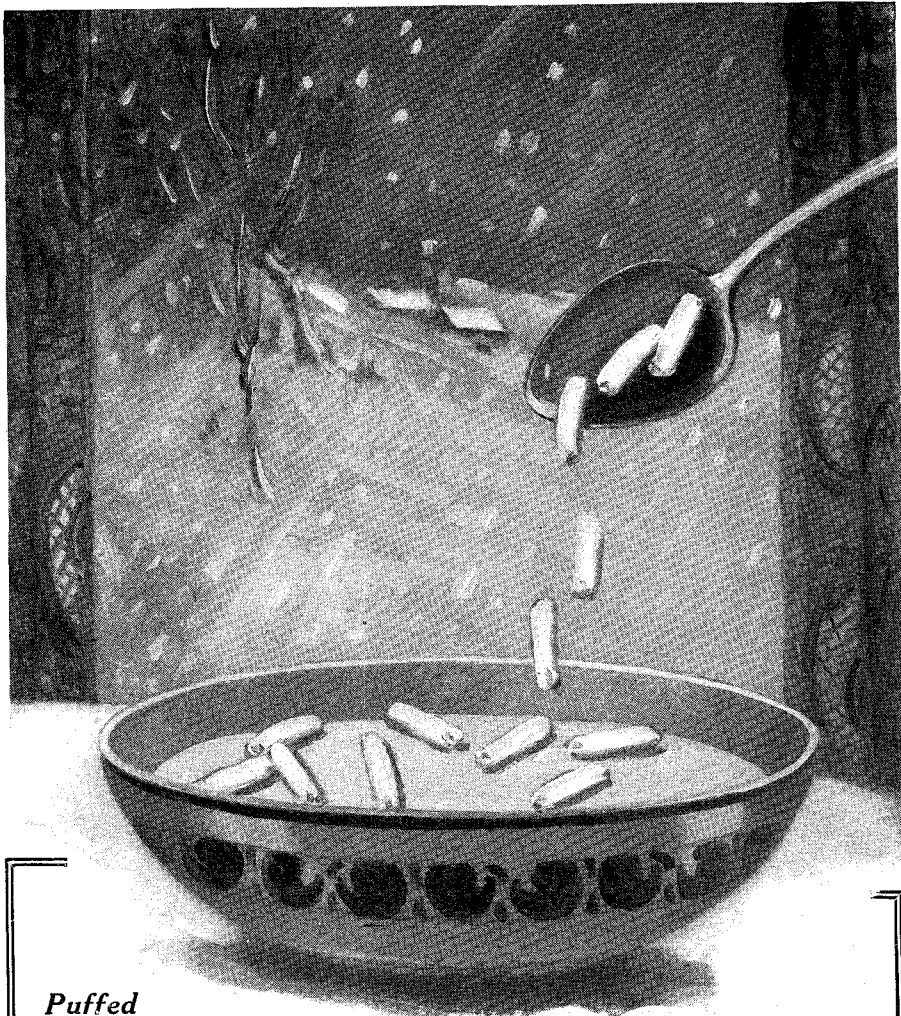
JONKHEER DR. F. BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND holds the position of Chief of the Department of Diplomatic Affairs in the Foreign Ministry. For ten years he was Holland's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking.

DR. E. MORESCO, until recently Secretary General of the Department of Colonial Affairs, was lately appointed Vice-President of the Netherlands Indian Council.

JONKHEER WILLIAM DE BEAUFORT, former Minister for the Netherlands at Washington and recently appointed Minister to Greece, began his diplomatic career as attaché of the Netherlands Legation at Washington in 1909. In 1911 he was sent to Tokyo, and later took charge of the Holland Consulate at Kobe, Japan. He has served his government in Peking, Paris, and Brussels, and has had three appointments to Washington, the last in 1918.

THE BELGIAN DELEGATE

BARON E. DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE, Ambassador to the United States, was born in 1871. He has been engaged in diplomatic work since 1893, in Vienna, Belgrade, Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo, Peking, Paris, and London. He was Belgian Minister at Peking in 1910, and at Washington in 1917. Since 1919 he has been Belgian Ambassador to the United States.



Puffed Rice

Like Snowflakes

in their texture—

Like nut-meats in their taste

Puffed Rice is a bubble grain—puffed by steam explosion to 8 times normal size. The grains are flimsy, flaky, crushing at a touch. The taste is like toasted nuts.
Puffed Wheat is whole wheat shot from guns. Over 100 million steam explosions occur in every kernel.
Every food cell is blasted, so digestion is easy and complete. Every granule feeds.

No foods like these

These are Prof. Anderson's inventions—the only cereals with all food cells broken. No other process so fits grains for food.
All the elements in the whole grain are in this way made available.
Thus whole grains are made tempting so that children revel in them. They eat them morning, noon and night, between meals and at bedtime.
When the best foods for children are the foods they love best, should they not be served in plenty?

Puffed Wheat

Puffed Rice



The supper dish—Puffed Wheat in milk

The Quaker Oats Company Sole Makers

FORMER CONFERENCES THAT FAILED—AND SUCCEEDED

"I AM CONVINCED, alas," cables Maurice Maeterlinck, the Belgian poet and playwright, in response to a query from Mr. Hearst's New York *American*, "that the Washington Conference will be as useless as all those which have preceded it." Other "leading minds of Europe," which *The American* finds almost, if not quite, as pessimistic about the Washington Conference, call attention to the long list of failures that have marked mankind's attempt to agree to mutual disarmament. The desire for disarmament, one writer points out, is almost as old as the desire for war. Count Carlo Sforza, formerly Foreign Minister of Italy, while refusing to prejudge the present Conference, mentions that in the matter of disarmament, "the Roman Empire tried and failed, Christianity has failed, Socialism has failed." A spokesman for that public opinion both in Europe and America which, numerous observers assure us, "has swung from skepticism to the point where it now demands concrete results," may reply that a good many attempts to build flying-machines, also, came to nothing, before the first feebly successful machine was made. Most pessimists also overlook the fact that two previous "conferences on the limitation of armament" have been measurably successful. The results appear in the long unguarded boundary between Canada and the United States, and in the reduced armaments agreed upon and maintained by Chile and the Argentine Republic. At least two former "Conferences on the Limitation of Armaments" have been as successful as their most optimistic supporters hoped.

"The Truce of God" (*Frera* or *Treuga Dei*) represents one of the first historical attempts to get along with smaller armaments and less fighting. Its terms affected individuals, families and similar small units of the population, all of whom, in those brave days of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Europe, were accustomed to go armed to the teeth, very much as nations are to-day. The "Truce" provided that the general feuds and conflicts should end between Saturday evening and Monday morning. Between these hours men were not to wear their arms nor kill each other. The idea is said to have been "strongly advocated by the Bishop of Aquitaine, in 1032." According to "Haydn's Dictionary of Dates" (Putnam's), "The clergy strenuously exerted their influence for the purpose. A synod at Roussillon, 1027, decreed that none should attack his enemy between Saturday evening (at the hour of nones) and Monday morning (at the hour of prime). Similar regulations were adopted in England, 1042 (sometimes Friday and Wednesday being chosen for the time). The Truce of God was confirmed by many Councils of the Church, especially the latter Council in 1179." Even tho a high degree of armament continued among individuals, families, and other small groups for some centuries after this time, the "limitation of armament" idea, thus introduced, was ultimately successful, reaching one of its modern developments in the so-called "Sullivan law" of New

York, which forbids the carrying of arms at any time without a special permit.

Less successful was the attempt made on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," the name given to the place between Guines and Andres, France, where Henry VIII met Francis I of France in June, 1520. The notables wore medals consisting largely of the figure of a lamb, as a token of peace, and the meeting was planned to inaugurate an era of disarmament and Christian brotherhood. "Most elaborate arrangements were made for the accommodation of the two monarchs and their large retinue," says a writer in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, describing this early conference. In fact it appears that pomp and circumstance constituted most of the agenda. We read:

Before the castle of Guines a temporary palace, covering an area of nearly 12,000 square yards, was erected for the reception of the English King. It was decorated in the most sumptuous fashion, and like the chapel, served by thirty-five priests, was furnished with a profusion of golden ornaments. Some idea of the size of Henry's following may be gathered from the fact that in one month 2,200 sheep and other viands in a similar proportion were consumed. In the fields beyond the castle, tents to the number of 2,800 were erected for less distinguished visitors, and the whole scene was one of the greatest animation. Ladies gorgeously clad, and knights, showing by their dress and bearing their anxiety to revive the glories and the follies of the age of chivalry, jostled mountebanks, mendicants and vendors of all kinds.

Journeying from Calais Henry reached his headquarters at Guines on the 4th of June, 1520, and Francis took up his residence at Andres. After Cardinal Wolsey, with a splendid train had visited the French King, the two monarchs met at the Val Dore, a spot midway between the two places, on the 7th. The following days were taken up with tournaments, in which both kings took part, banquets and other entertainments, and after Wolsey had said mass the two sovereigns separated on the 24th. This meeting made a great impression on contemporaries, but its political results were very small.

Shakespeare's description in the first act of "King Henry VIII," tells of the "view of earthly glory" in the lines:

"To-day the French
All elinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and to-morrow they
Made Britain, India: every man that stood
Showed like a mine. The dwarfish pages were
As cherubins, all gilt."

The Great Congress of Vienna, of 1814-15, included, in its numerous and varied agenda, programs for the limitation of armaments, but none of the proposals progressed beyond the stage of discussion. Some two years later, on the other side of the world, a conference on the limitation of armament was held which, it is generally conceded, represents one of the outstanding political accomplishments of history. The basis of this agreement, which still endures and seems likely to endure indefinitely, is set forth in the following proclamation by the then President of the United States. This document, which may serve as a



HELP WANTED.

The recurrent military malady that attacks the world, and leaves it with a bad headache and a desire for better health, is thus caricatured by an artist in the London *Bystander*. "I wish I knew what is really wrong with me," the artist imagines his "patient" asking. "I suppose it couldn't possibly be swelled head?"



A cold night—and the engine won't start!

Not a balky, cantankerous engine that failed its owner—but a thoughtless, negligent owner who failed his engine!

He failed to provide his car with a safe oil for winter use—an oil that would flow freely and function perfectly in cold weather.

What happened? His oil congealed on a cold night. The engine, with bearings clogged, refused to budge. Even cranking was futile. He had to be towed home.

What about *your* oil? Is it safe for winter use? You can't afford to guess. Scored cylinders, burned-out bearings and irreparable damage may result. Here is a way to make absolutely certain.

Use SUNOCO Motor Oil. It flows freely in the coldest weather. With the right type of SUNOCO in your crankcase you are absolutely safe from winter lubrication dangers.

SUNOCO also protects you against the trouble and expense of carbon—increases your

engine power and gasoline mileage—reduces repair bills and lessens depreciation.

SUNOCO has proved that high operating costs are usually the result of faulty lubrication—the penalty motorists pay for buying just “oil.”

Why not use SUNOCO and reduce your car expenses? Have your crankcase drained and cleaned before refilling with SUNOCO. Be certain that you get genuine SUNOCO and the type specified for your car by the “Sunoco Lubrication Guide.”

The time to change from summer to winter types of SUNOCO is when the average temperature is around 30 degrees F. above zero.

Every motorist should have a copy of “Accurate Lubrication”—a booklet that tells how to operate your car with greater economy and efficiency. It is free. Ask your dealer or write us for a copy at once and give the name and address of your dealer.

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More than 1,500,000 gallons of lubricating oils per week

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Branch Offices and Warehouses in 32 Principal Cities

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MOTOR OIL

TO THE TRADE—A wonderful sales opportunity is open to dealers. Write for the Sunoco Sales Plan.

model to the delegates gathered in Washington to discuss similar principles in larger application, runs as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

Whereas, an arrangement was entered into at the city of Washington in the month of April, in the year of our Lord, 1817, between Richard Rush, Esquire, at the time acting as Secretary for the Department of State of the United States, for and in behalf of the Government of the United States, and the Right Honorable Charles Bagot, His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, for and in behalf of His Britannic Majesty, which arrangement is in the words following, to wit:

"The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is,

"On Lake Ontario to one vessel, not exceeding to 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18-lb. cannon;

"On the Upper lakes to 2 vessels, not exceeding like burden, each armed with like force;

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel, not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force;

"All other armed vessels on those lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.

"If either party should be hereafter desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice.

"The naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such service as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party."

And whereas the Senate of the United States have approved of the said arrangement, and recommended that it should be carried into effect, the same having also received the sanction of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Britannic Majesty,

Now, therefore, I, James Monroe, President of the United States, do, by this my proclamation, make known and declare that the arrangement aforesaid, and every stipulation thereof, has been duly entered into, concluded and confirmed, and is of full force and effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1818, and of the independence of the United States the forty-second.

JAMES MONROE

By the President:

John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

Under our Treaty of January 11, 1909, with Great Britain, an International Joint Commission of three Americans and three Canadians is charged with the adjustment and settlement of international questions along the common frontier.

A series of attempts to perfect similar arrangement among the countries of South America, both with and without the cooperation of the United States, followed the promulgation of the Canadian agreement. Conferences were held in Panama in 1824, at Lima in 1848, at Santiago in 1856, and Lima again in 1864, at Washington in 1889, in the City of Mexico in 1901, and Buenos Aires in 1910. At most of these conferences stress was put upon arbitration, especially compulsory arbi-

tration, rather than upon limitation of armament, and such results as were obtained had to do with such minor matters, as extradition, etc. On the 28th of May, 1902, however, came the Disarmament Agreement between Chile and the Argentine Republic, which has been called "the only existing case of contractual reduction of armaments." This view disregards the agreement between the United States and Canada, which may possibly have been considered rather an agreement not to arm than a true disarmament contract. The Chile-Argentinian agreement was signed, according to its preamble, "owing to the initiative and good offices of His Britannic Majesty," and

follows very closely upon some of the forms of agreement suggested for presentation at the present Washington conference. It provides as follows:

Art. I.—In order to remove all cause of fear and distrust between the two countries, the governments of Chile and of the Argentine Republic agree not to take possession of the warships which they are having built, or for the present to make any other acquisitions. The two governments furthermore agree to reduce their respective fleets, according to an arrangement establishing a reasonable proportion between the two fleets. This reduction to be made within one year from the date at which the present agreement shall be ratified.

Art. II.—The two governments respectively promise not to increase their maritime armaments during five years, unless the one who shall wish to increase them shall give the other eighteen months' notice in advance. This agreement does not include any armaments for protecting the shore and ports, and each party will be at liberty to acquire any vessels (*maquina flotante*) intended for protection thereof, such as submarines, etc.

ART. III.—The reduction (i. e. ships disposed of) resulting from this agreement will not be parted with to countries having any dispute with

either of the two contracting parties.

Art. IV.—In order to facilitate the transfer of the pending orders the two governments agree to increase by two months the time stipulated for the beginning of the construction of the respective ships. They will give instructions accordingly.

Europe, in the meantime, had made two large, ambitious, and unsuccessful attempts at disarmament. The first Hague Conference, called by the Czar Nicholas II of Russia, was projected, in the words of the Czar's invitation, "to put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world: such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all states." It was officially proposed as "A Conference on Disarmament," this title being afterwards changed to "Peace Conference." It was to be "above all, an international discussion of the most efficacious means of putting a limit to the present progressive development of armaments."

The first item on the program accepted for discussion read:

"I. An understanding stipulating the non-increase, for a definite period, of the present effective military and naval forces, and also of the military budgets pertaining to them; and a preliminary investigation of the means by which even a reduction

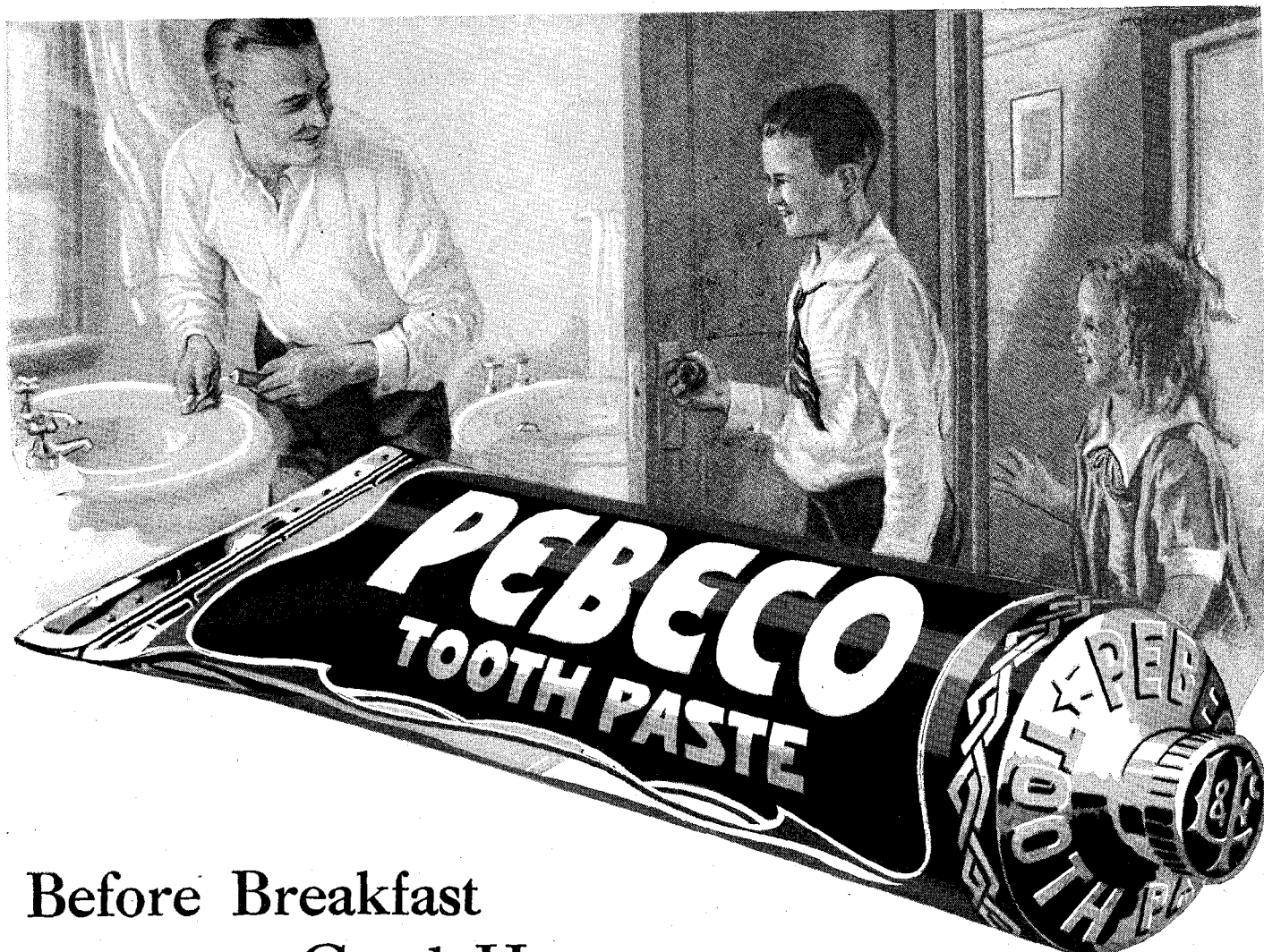


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—L'Asino (Rome).



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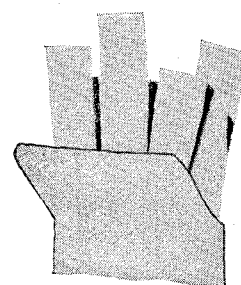
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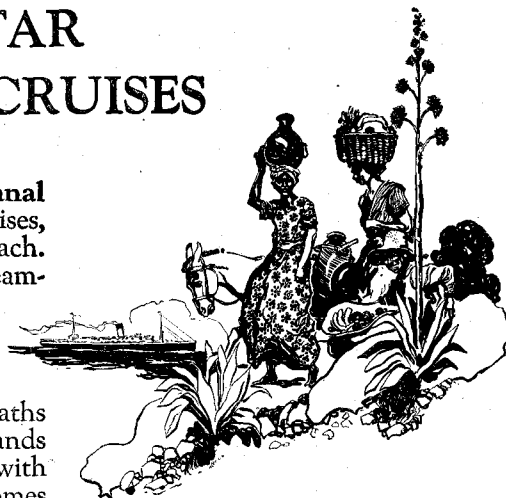
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PERSONAL GLIMPSES

Continued

in these forces and budgets may be secured in the future."

This item was taken up by Commission No. 1, together with the related items of prohibiting or limiting the use of new and more powerful weapons, explosives, projectiles from balloons, submarines and other new engines of destruction.

But arbitration and other means of preventing warfare, the last item on the agenda, became the chief topic of discussion and fruitful action.

Military and naval sub-committees took up technical questions first, and could not agree on a definition of "new" types of weapons or a limit for invention. At this conference, it is noted, all of the twenty-six powers represented, except the United States and Great Britain, agreed "to abstain from the use of projectiles the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases." A five-year prohibition upon the hurling of projectiles from balloons or by other new analogous means was voted; also prohibition of the use of "dum-dum" bullets. The proposal to prohibit submarines was dropt. By resolution the Conference recommended that the governments make fuller serious study in the technical field of new implements of warfare.

On the main question of limitation of armament, military and naval, the Conference limited itself to voting that "a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the material and moral well-being of mankind," and that "the governments, having regard to the propositions advanced in the Conference, shall take up the study of the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of military budgets."

The propositions advanced are quite as timely to-day as they were then. The list runs:

MILITARY

1. Establishment of an international agreement for a term of five years for the non-augmentation of the actual number of the peace effectives quartered at home.

2. Fixing the number of peace effectives of the armies of all the powers, colonial troops excepted.

3. Maintenance (non-augmentation) for the same term of the amount of the military budgets at present in force.

NAVAL

1. Acceptance of the principle of fixing for a term of three years the amount of naval budgets (each government for itself).

2. Agreement not to augment the total thereof during this triennial period.

3. Obligation to make known in advance for the same period:

(a) the total tonnage of warships that

it is proposed to build, without defining the type of build.

- (b) The number of naval officers and crews;
- (c) The expenditure for port work (coast fortifications) such as forts, basins, arsenals, etc.

Many Commission members saw only difficulties in budget fixing, due to varying government financial systems and methods of accounting, as well as difficulties regarding guarantees which nations might offer for executing such an international agreement.

Germany's military representative declared that it would be impossible to determine separately the extent and the force of a single part of the complicated machinery of a modern army and the correlated factors of national defense—such as public instruction, the railway system, fortified places, etc. The military committee reported:

"That it would be very difficult to fix, even for a period of five years, the figure of effectives without regulating at the same time other elements of the national defense.

"That it would not be less difficult to regulate, by an international convention, the elements of this defense organized in each country according to very different views.

"In consequence, the Committee regret not to be able to accept the proposition made in the name of the Russian Government. They believe that a more thorough study of the question by the governments themselves is desirable.

No further government studies of consequence were forthcoming by the time when, eight years later, the call for the Second Hague Conference (of 1907) was issued. That call expressly barred questions "which may concern the limitation of military or naval forces." Great Britain and the United States, however (Mr. Root was then Secretary of State), reserved the right to bring up the subject, and eventually did so, at one session, when the Conference simply reaffirmed and emphasized the Conference resolutions of 1899. Incidentally the British delegate offered to exchange information concerning government plans of constructing warships and the expenditures involved, in order to facilitate exchange of views on reductions which by common agreement might be effected.

The League of Nations provisions, in the Versailles Treaty, have much to say on the subject of disarmament. "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations," the Treaty stipulates, "Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses" of the Treaty. These clauses, framed by military representatives of the victors at Paris, detail as complete a disarmament as experts could devise, and the Treaty further creates Inter-Allied Commissions of Control over each of the three kinds of arma-

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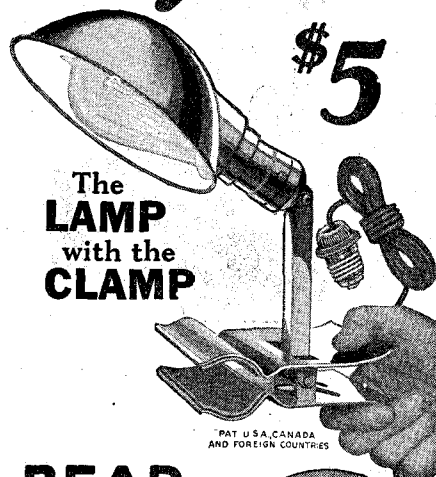
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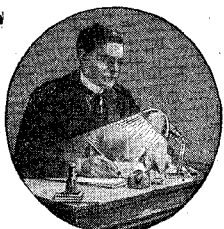
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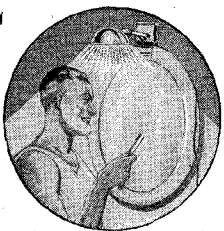
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PERSONAL GLIMPSES

Continued

ment under whose supervision the disarmament is proceeding.

Subsequent treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey contain similar provisions for disarmament under control of commissions in each country.

One of the requirements for admission to the League is that a new Member "shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, and air forces and armaments." (Article I.)

The Covenant of The League of Nations (Part I of the Treaty of Versailles) also contains the following:

The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstance of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes. (Article 8.)

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally. (Article 9.)

The Council of the League, in May, 1920, created the Permanent Advisory Armaments Commission, limited to three delegates from each member nation representing the army, navy and air services, accompanied by expert advisers. It first met at San Sebastian late in July and resolved itself into three sub-committees. In December a "Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments" was authorized, which met at Paris in July, 1921, to take up political, financial, social and economic, as distinguished from technical aspects of disarmament. René Viviani of France, one of the French delegates to the Washington Conference, is chairman of this commission, which

consists of five other members appointed by the Council, six members of the Permanent Armaments Commission, four members of the Economic and Financial Commission, and six representatives of the International Labor Bureau, three from the employers group and three from the labor group.

Reports were to be made to the Assembly meeting at Geneva in September. President Wilson declined the invitation to appoint a member of the Permanent Commission on the ground that the United States was not a member of the League. While twenty-five governments were reported to be willing not to increase their armament budgets during two years as proposed, one reply pointed out that the military budget does not exactly reflect the armed strength of a state, "since it may be necessary to increase the credits allotted to the Ministry of War and the Admiralty to maintain that strength at its present level." One of the great Powers also raised the point that a comparison of armament budgets was unsound as a method of computation because of the divergence of methods in the preparation of such budgets.

Twenty governments are said to favor ratification of the Convention of Saint-Goumain-en-Laye, September, 1919, for the control of export traffic in arms and ammunition, especially to bellicose and unstable countries—Africa, Persia, etc. But the British representative at the Mixed Commission meeting in Paris stated that necessary universal adoption requires that the United States adhere.

The Commission's formal recommendations to the first Assembly contemplated an approach to disarmament by three stages: first, a pledge by the Powers to make no increase in armaments; second, a gradual reduction; third, general and complete disarmament, retaining only what is needed for police purposes.

Shortly before the meeting of the Mixed Armaments Commission of the League in Paris, President Harding's preliminary invitations to the Washington Conference were made known. M. René Viviani, President of the Commission, it is reported, "expressed great satisfaction at President Harding's initiative, and declared that the result of the work of the Mixed Commission would be of great use to the governments meeting in Washington for the solution of the particular problems which interested them."

Many Democratic advocates of the League in America express themselves strongly in favor of some working agreement between the Mixed Armaments Commission of the League and the Washington Conference. Even if a compromise is so effected that the League of Nations takes a new name and reforms its policies in conformity with the ideas of the present United States Government, say the milder of these League advocates, the world will benefit.



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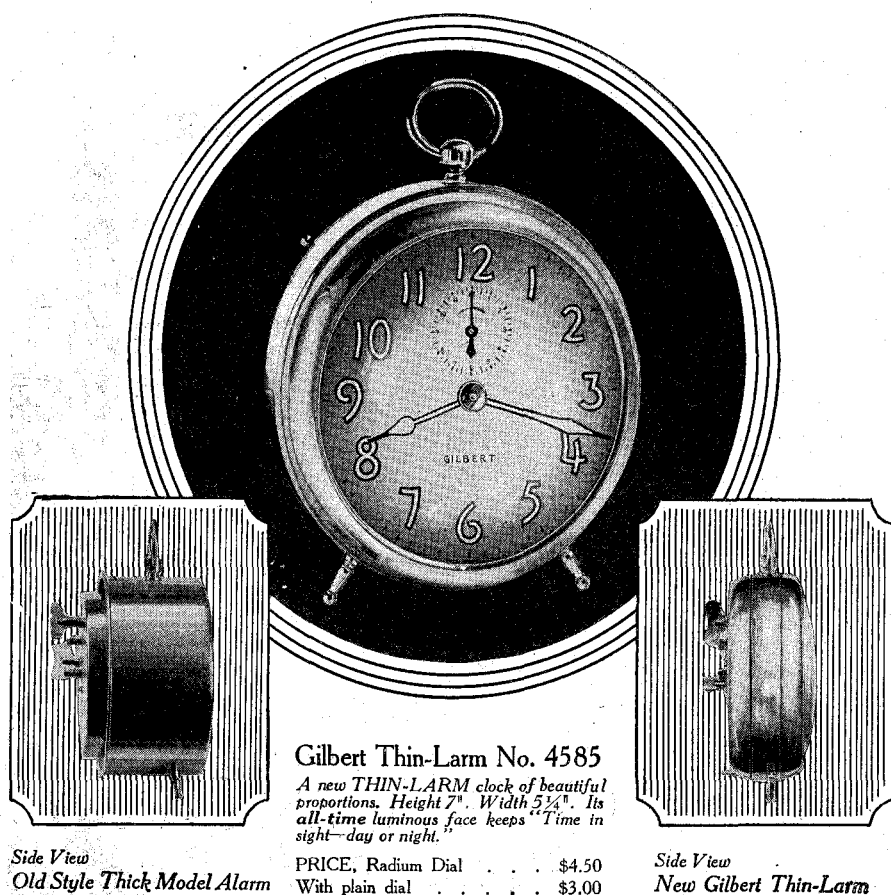
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PERSONAL GLIMPSES Continued

A JAPANESE ADMIRAL ON JAPAN'S "NAVALISM"

"NAVALISM," which may be defined as sea-going militarism, has been alleged against Japan, admits a spokesman for the island kingdom, in a new volume called "What Japan Thinks" (Macmillan). The writer, Vice-Admiral Sato, for many years professor in the Naval College at Tokyo and recently the President of that institution, defends Japan on the ground that his country is preparing for "defense" no more ambitiously than are all the other countries. Both England and Japan, he argues, as island nations, are dependent upon a certain amount of "navalism," to insure their existence. His conclusion, reached some months before President Harding issued the call for the Washington Conference, is that Japan will gladly follow suit if other nations agree to refrain from naval expansions. As for the need of a Japanese navy, he writes:

Our national-defense policy is to safeguard our unique nationality forever, and prevent any foreign enemy from invading our own country. Our armaments are maintained solely for self-defense, but never for aggressive designs. We are under the firm conviction that Japan is created for the sake of the Japanese nation, and think it is our mission to live up to the teachings of Amaterasu-O-Mikami, the supreme Goddess of the Japanese, by conscientiously following the path of justice and humanity, so as to set an example to the outside world and glorify our Goddess. In other words, the Japanese mean to enjoy a happy life, as well as their traditional nationality in their own country, by making adequate armaments to defend it.

If a nation is to maintain its territorial integrity, safeguard its nationality, and promote its own welfare, it must pay attention to three factors. One is justice; another, wealth; and the last, military force. When a nation is equipped with these three things, it will be able not only to secure peace and happiness for its country, but further to ward off foreign contempt, and thereby to settle international issues amicably without seeing a rupture. On occasions, even the possession by a nation of two of these factors will enable it to escape contempt in dealing with foreign Powers. For instance, suppose there was a nation, who, possessed of ample wealth, conscientiously trod the path of justice; it would be able to maintain peace and safeguard its rights and interests, altho its military force might be inferior to that of its adversary. The case in point is France on the Morocco question. When the Morocco issue was raised, Germany could not attain her selfish object by making France yield, tho she had a superior military strength. Another case is America. Since the foundation of her Republic, America has had no great military force. And yet she has occupied an important position in international relations, because she has possessed the two factors, justice and wealth.

But wealth is a negative power, after all, in maintaining peace, being powerless against foreign foes. Just suppose a

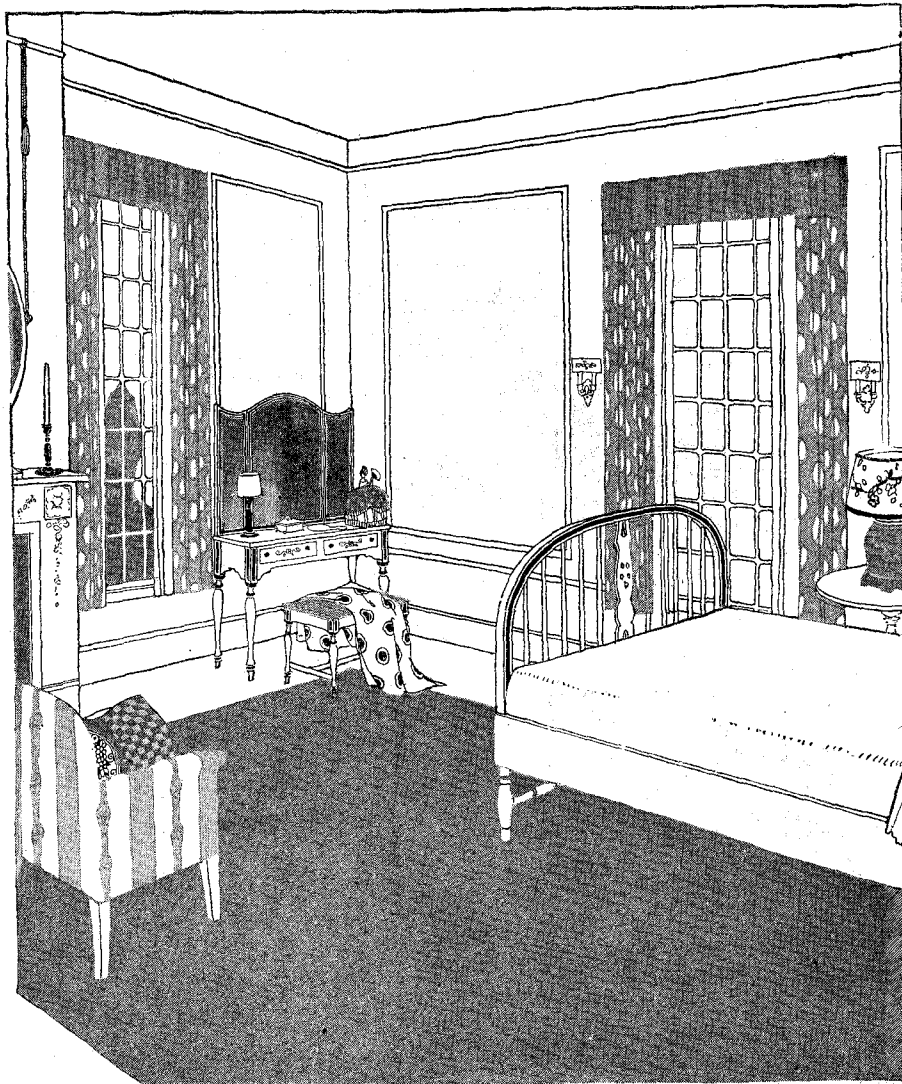
wealthy country was invaded by an ambitious, wicked nation; it would be another Belgium, and its wealth would prove a safe unlocked and with no watchmen. Belgium possessed ample wealth and her contention was unimpeachable, being in strict accordance with the international law. And yet the first weeks of the war saw her down-trodden by Germany. Does this not remind us that military force is of supreme necessity for national defense? However, force, not backed by wealth, will prove good for nothing, just as there is no difference between a heap of stones and a 20-inch gun manned efficiently, if there is no ammunition to feed it with. Thus it is clear that military force must be accompanied by wealth. But it must also be borne in mind that justice adds weight to them. Indeed, a nation can not hope to be safe and secure until and unless it combines in itself *justice, wealth and arms*. For them no other nation will dare to despise it or invade its country.

In the past, Japan had ample resources with which to feed her nation. The increase, however, of her population has been so remarkable since the middle of the last century that the Japanese have now outgrown their resources. During 1870 and 1880, Japan's population was said to be between 30 and 50 millions, but now in 1920 it has exceeded 60 millions, and is fast approaching the mark of 70 millions. In order to make up the shortage of supplies, consequent upon this phenomenal increase in our population, it has become necessary for us to buy raw materials from foreign countries. For this purpose it has also become necessary for us to sell something in return for things bought abroad. This has encouraged the development of manufacturing industries in our country, and the export of manufactured goods. In future we shall find it increasingly necessary for us to develop our export trade. Otherwise, we shall be unable to buy raw materials abroad to feed and clothe our rapidly increasing population. . . . Indeed there is no course left to Japan but foreign trade, if she is to feed her ever-growing population.

And foreign trade can not prosper without naval protection. Commerce, not backed by naval force, is always destined to dwindle. However flourishing a nation's trade may be, it will be stopt in an emergency, unless it has naval strength to fall back upon. It was entirely due to the strong naval protection it enjoyed that the foreign trade of Portugal, Spain and Holland so prospered in the fifteenth century. And the moment it was deprived of naval protection it began to decline. The present prosperity of England is also due to her naval supremacy. For this reason, Japan is confronted by the necessity of extending her Navy, so as to maintain due balance of power with the other nations.

If critics of Japan denounce her naval program as navalism, what should they say about the naval program of England and America? If Japan is guilty of navalism, does not America stand condemned of still greater navalism? All creatures have weapons to defend themselves with. Why, then, can the state not have defensive weapons? Japan's naval extension is entirely intended for self-defense. Those who criticize it as navalism must have interested motives.

It may be contended that it is well to defend a state with a navy, but that there is no need of expanding it. Yes, if the other nations refrain from naval expansion, Japan will follow suit. But will America, not to say England, give up her naval program?



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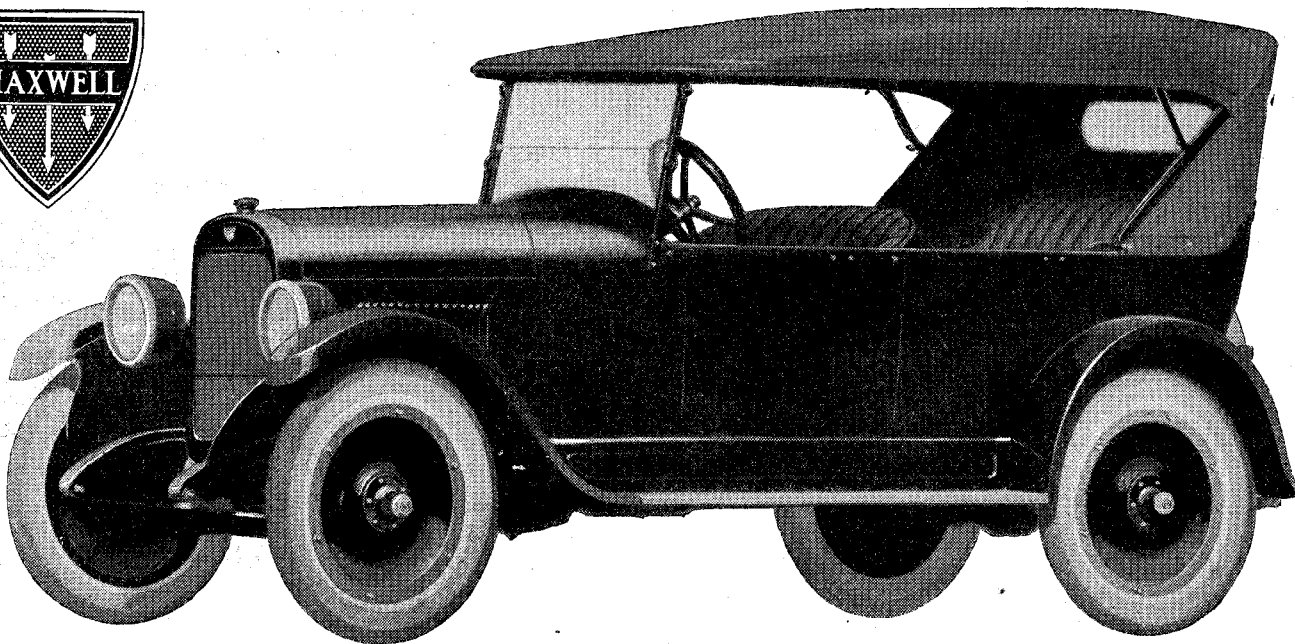
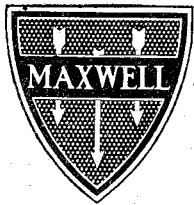
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PRESS OF THE WORLD ON THE ARMS CONGRESS

(Continued from page 23)

"an event of importance transcending in world-wide interest any international movement since the treaty-making at Versailles," and the *Brisbane Daily Mail* declares:

There is no doubt that in some quarters the comradeship of the trenches has given way to a candid cynicism; but the people generally retain an ardent faith in the present crusade of peace, and if their representatives at Washington work honestly and unselfishly, the establishment of a nobler fraternity between nations should be within reach.

NEW ZEALAND

The *New Zealand Herald* expresses the wish that America "were a little more indulgent to Japan, and a little suspicious of the Anglo-Japanese alliance," but declares that there is no question about the "anxiety of the United States to march internationally beside the British Empire" and adds:

The present President has not made a secret of his belief that the moral responsibility, no less than the national interest, of the English-speaking peoples calls for ever closer cooperation. An understanding or agreement—call it anything but an alliance—with Britain is the fundamental of his foreign policy, and he believes that only Britain and America, acting as friends and not as rivals, have power to bring order into a world littered with the wreckage of war. This ideal, it may be said without exaggeration, has seized the imagination of the American people with the exception of those sections—not unimportant, it is true—which are irrevocably anti-British. And it is chiefly upon this mutual sentiment that Mr. Harding is depending for the success of the Washington Conference. He remembers that the two nations made a mutual disarmament treaty over one hundred years ago, which has been scrupulously observed ever since. And the limited to the Great Lakes, the mutual confidence of Canada and the United States has in practise extended this agreement to the thousands of miles of their common frontier—a happy augury for the wider effort now to be made.

The *Wellington Dominion* believes that if the British and American governments are to give effect to the principles to which they have alike declared their adhesion, in each case with the approval of an overwhelming proportion of the people they represent, they are "bound to take practical steps to limit armaments irrespective of difficulties raised by any other Power," and it proceeds:

Assuming always that they had reached a full understanding on the question of limiting armaments, the British Empire and America would be able to count themselves reasonably secure so long as their combined strength gave them an adequate margin over the strength of any possible enemy. In regard to naval armaments, to which the practical issues of limitation relate almost exclusively for the time being, the Empire and the United States are possessed from this standpoint of a very considerable margin upon which to operate

in giving a lead in limitation to Japan and to the rest of the world.

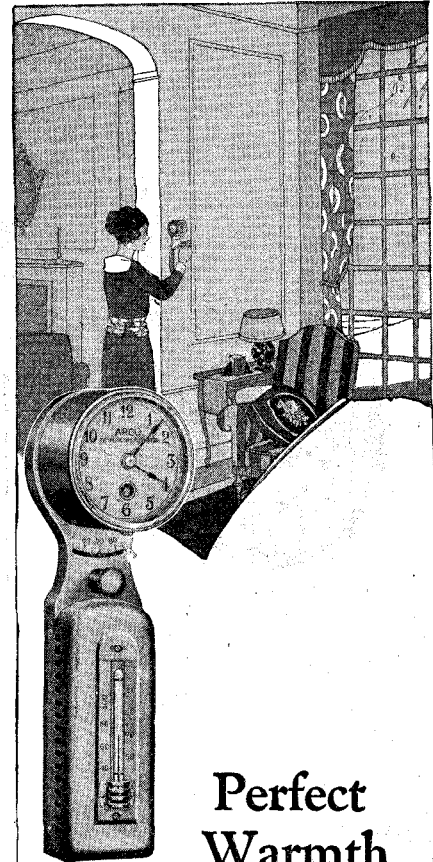
SOUTH AFRICA

The *Cape Town Cape Times* says that the facts in regard to England's "dominion naval policy," as laid down at the recent Imperial Conference, have only to be stated to show that the British naval policy is governed primarily by the desire "to avoid competition, to postpone construction to the latest date which the safety of the Empire will permit, and even to take grave risks in doing so." All these considerations "demonstrate the vital importance to the world of the decisions which are taken at the Washington Conference," and we read:

There is no ground for questioning the soundness of the Admiralty's decision that the Disarmament Conference must not affect the building by Great Britain of the four new battleships which are replacing obsolete vessels. . . . What is certain is that in the unhappy event of the discussion at Washington bearing no fruit, the problem will become insistent. . . . If Washington fails, and if confidence in the capital ships as the first line of defense persists, Great Britain will be faced not merely with the necessity of increasing construction on a large scale to satisfy the requirements of principle adopted by the Dominion Conference, but to embark upon a vast scheme of dock reconstruction and enlargement, and the world will be set once more on the crazy competition in building war vessels which must inevitably end in war and in the final ruin of civilization. . . .

Britain has deliberately abstained from anything in the nature of competition building and will go to the Washington Conference with clean hands to urge the principle of disarmament as necessary for the salvation of the world. But if the Conference fails, if there are nations which insist on troubling the peace of the world by a renewed competition in armament; it will not be the responsibility of Great Britain and the British Empire. It will none the less be the obligation of the Empire, as a first principle of security, to take the measures for maintaining our naval position which the Dominions Conference has declared to be necessary. Universal disarmament is one thing; the disarmament of a single Power in a world which is arming itself anew, is quite another matter.

In the British West Indies, the *Jamaica Times* thinks the Conference "may result in something that may be a definite and useful contribution to solving the problem of substituting world peace for the ever-present danger of world war," but is "not prepared to go further than that until the Conference has actually delivered the goods." Meanwhile, it speaks of reported differences between the Motherland and the Dominions on the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and says it has been reported that the Dominions demand no renewal should take place unless sanctioned by the United States, whereat this weekly remarks:



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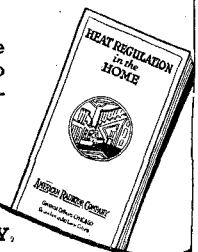
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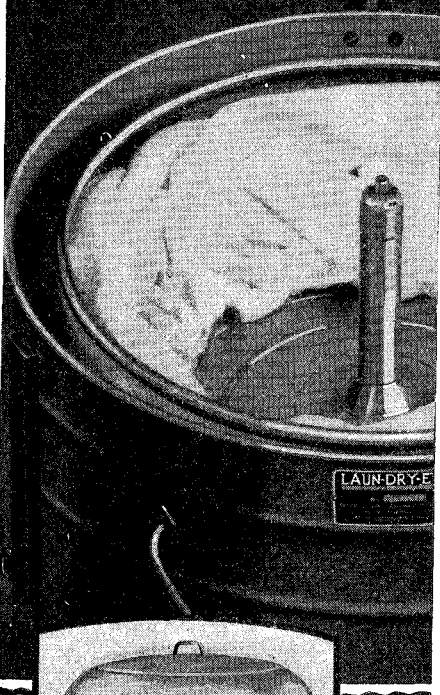
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Now this is misrepresentation. What the Dominions do stand for and what the responsible opinion of the most responsible among British statesmen stands for is that the treaty shall not be renewed in any way that can reasonably be held as expressing or implying hostility to the United States, or against which that country could rationally take exception as inimical to her. That is a very different thing to representing the matter as depending on the fiat of the United States. The misrepresentation is without doubt part of a sinister plan to foster differences between the Mother Land and the Dominions and to make more difficult the coordinating of Empire policy. For this of course President Harding is not to be blamed, but the existence of such opinion and such aims must make loyal Britishers cautious of how we advance, even in the right direction.

In India the *Calcutta Statesman* says that even more cogent than the costliness and uncertainty of naval construction is that if Great Britain, Japan and the United States "agree to abide by a fixt naval strength, new construction can without risk to any country be reduced to almost negligible proportions. No British Government will dare, in the present temper of the British people, to obstruct any proposals which will combine economy with safety, and there is no reason to suppose Japan is ambitious of naval supremacy, while the American people may be regarded as the pioneers of disarmament."

JAPAN

The Washington Conference affords an excellent opportunity for Japan to "clear away the misunderstanding that she is a militaristic and aggressive nation, and a second Prussia," declares the *Tokio Yama-to*, which believes if the Japanese Government and the people take advantage of this opportunity, they will be able to show the world that "Japan is anxious to advance the cause of humanity and justice, the peace of the world and good-will among men." Finding that particular stress is laid upon the Chinese question, the *Tokio Chugai Shogyo* observes:

America seems to treat the issues of the Pacific as those of mandatory islands. So long as China faces the Pacific Ocean, it is not without reason that she was included among the issues of the Pacific. But since the American proposal divided the issues into Pacific and the Far Eastern problems, the issues involving China should be treated separately from the issues of the Pacific Ocean. While there is no reason for objecting to treating the mandatory islands question as a Pacific problem, the Pacific problem should not be confined to the questions of the mandatory islands. The question of defense works and immigration should not be confined to the questions of the mandatory islands. . . . We maintain that the Pacific problem should include all the issues of the Pacific problem. So here we shall say a few words about the questions of defense works.

We have maintained before that the fortifications which are liable to menace the peace of the Pacific Ocean should be abolished. Recently some people have been speaking of the Japanese armaments



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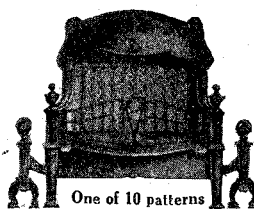
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which are absolutely necessary for our national defense in the same breath with the American armaments which are a menace to Japan's defense. That is a strange thing, indeed. For instance, they say that we should abolish our defense works in the Bonin islands, the Loochoo islands and Formosa, whereas America should abolish her defense works in Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines. Can these Japanese defense works be compared with the American works? We do not need to consult experts on this point. Common-sense will tell us how to judge. Our defense works in the Bonin, the Loochoo and Formosa are an absolute necessity for national defense. But can we call the American defense works mentioned absolutely necessary for national defense? A layman can judge that they are not. To establish a naval base for accommodating large war vessels in Guam, about 600 miles from Nagasaki, is nothing but a menace to our national defense. It is a great mistake to compare the defense works of both countries in the Pacific islands in the same breath. At any rate, all the menacing works should be abolished and then the questions of the Pacific might be settled.

The Tokio *Jiji* also calls attention to the fact that the United States has "established naval bases in Pacific islands far from her shores, and has been very eager of late to extend them." This may clearly be regarded as "offensive operations" against Japan, and it is urged that "if a disarmament agreement is to be carried out so that the peace of the Pacific can be actually insured, it is necessary that those naval bases should be reduced or limited in order to eliminate the cause of a menace" and we read:

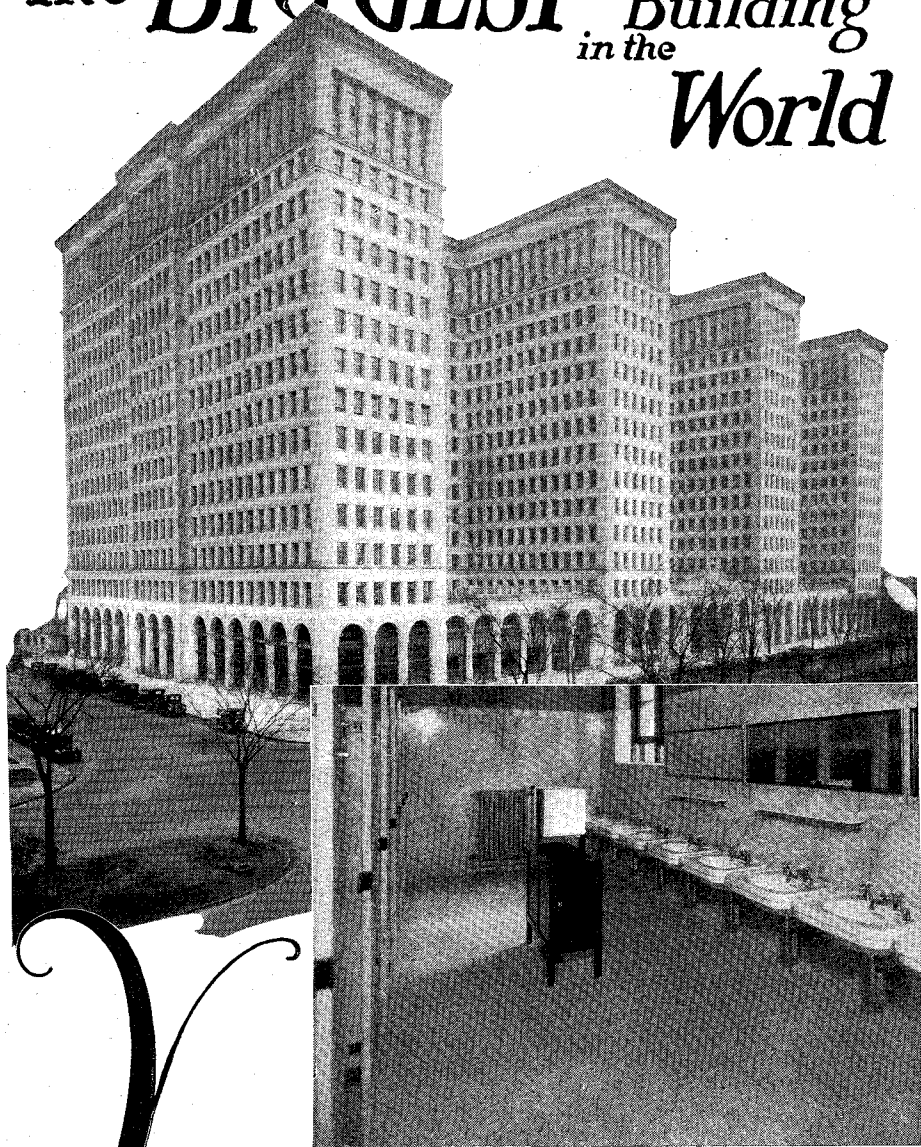
The most effective formula for reducing naval armaments is to make the navies of the Powers concerned essentially defensive. In other words the best plan is for Japan, Great Britain and the United States to make an agreement so as to make it impossible for any of them to attack another. We have urged that the naval ratio between Japan, Great Britain and the United States should be agreed to be four, three and two. (It would be better if the ratio with Great Britain's approval can be made three, three and two.)

For a country thousands of miles away it is impossible to take offensive action against the coast of its adversary unless its navy is twice as strong as the latter's, or it is at least dangerous for it to do so. Therefore, if Japan maintains a navy corresponding to a little over 66 per cent. of the American Navy, and the United States a similar percentage of naval strength in regard to Great Britain, it should not be difficult for Japan and the United States to preserve their safety in defensive operations.

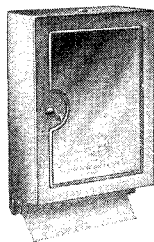
Conversely, no country will run the risk of offensive operations. This will make armament competition unnecessary and consequently a reduction of naval armaments can be effectively carried out. If all the countries concerned abandon offensive units, their armaments being confined to defensive equipment, the necessity for providing against hypothetical foes will naturally disappear and a great reduction of the world's navies will be automatically brought about.

In nine cases out of ten those who discuss the scope of the Washington Conference

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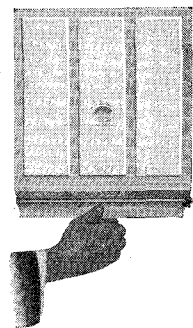
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WORLD PRESS ON THE CONGRESS

Continued

refer only to China, Siberia, or the former German Pacific islands under Japan's mandatory rule, remarks the Tokio *Nichi Nichi*, and "no attention is given to the former German islands under the control of Australia and to the West Pacific." It may be granted, we are told, that the questions of the islands under the mandate of Australia relate to trade, and are not connected with armaments, but it is the belief of this newspaper that "the international position of the Panama Canal facing the West Pacific should be considered at this opportunity both from the military and commercial view-point," and it proceeds:

In the existing state of affairs, if war broke out between a country and the United States, by whom would the neutrality of the Panama Canal be insured? The hope is very slender. This is why we attach great importance to the position of the Panama Canal in connection with the Disarmament Conference. If President Harding is to have armament and Pacific questions considered from a genuinely just point of view, he should bring the question of the Panama Canal before the Conference so that the Powers concerned can express fair opinions regarding its international position.

The Osaka *Asahi* suggests that the Japanese Government should propose the abolition of armaments in the Pacific islands and "squarely demand that the United States abolish armaments in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines," for "even if an agreement is reached to reduce the number of warships and there is no sincerity to back it, the agreement will serve no purpose." In short, the "spirit of militarism based on old-fashioned patriotism should be destroyed altogether and Japan should be prepared to present proof of this destruction." If the notion that military affairs are beyond the scope of political affairs is not rectified, it is clear as day that Japan "will commit more blunders and sustain greater humiliation at the Washington Conference than she sustained at the Paris Conference." The Osaka *Manichi* believes the Japanese should be "magnanimous enough to listen to foreign criticisms of Japan and the Far East, however bitter these may be, if they are based on accurate grounds and reason," but—

In the past the opinions of some Americans have rested on inaccurate knowledge and have given us unnecessary unpleasantness. They have also not infrequently led to illusions among the American citizens. In a sense, it may be said that the numerous misunderstandings between Japan and the United States are mostly due to inaccurate discussions. This is very regrettable, and we venture to commend the point to the attention of the Americans.

If Japan wishes to profit by the opportunity and make it clear to the world that from the outset she has "acted in Siberia for the sake of the world, with no ambitions



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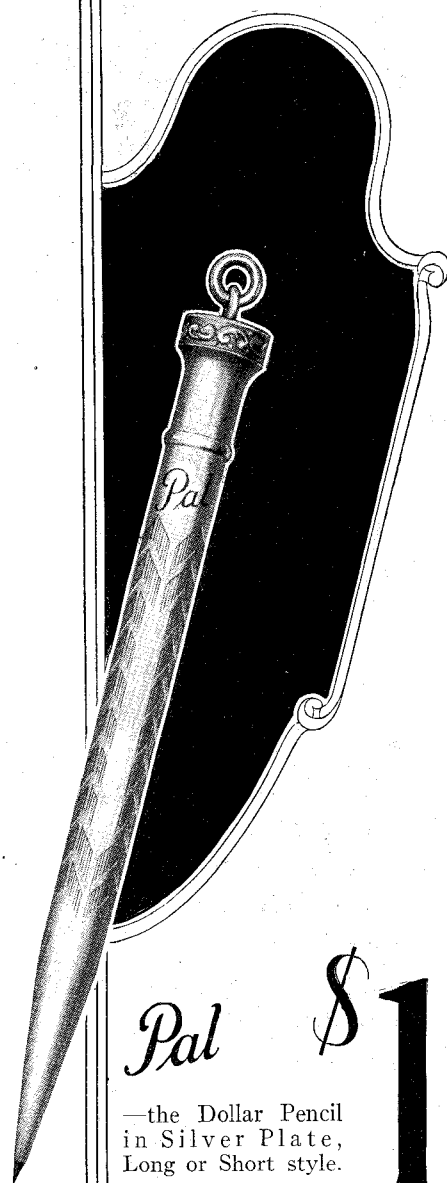
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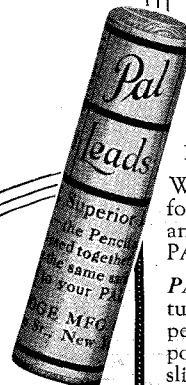
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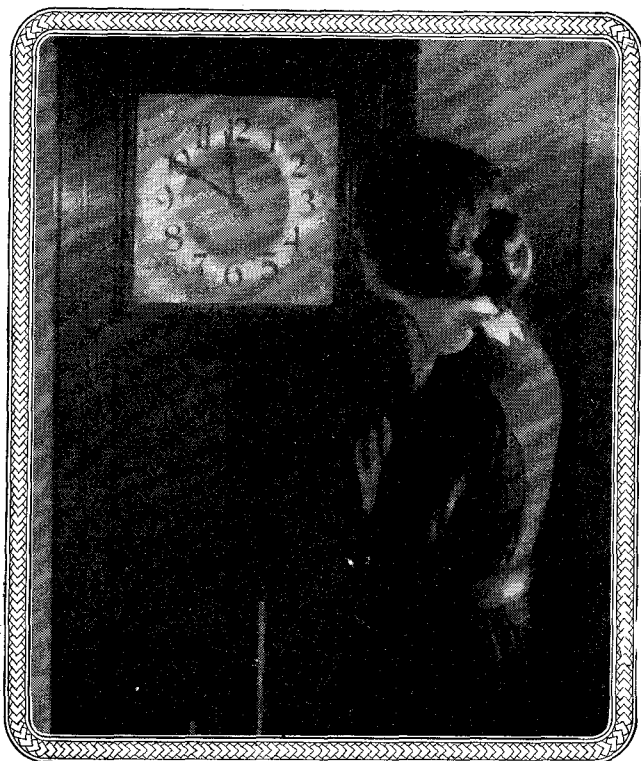


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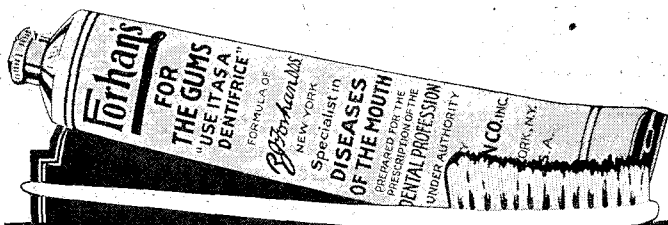
Use it twice daily, year in and year out. Wet your brush in cold water, place a half-inch of the refreshing, healing paste on it, then brush your teeth up and down. Use a rolling motion to clean the crevices. Brush the grinding and back surfaces of the teeth. Massage your gums with your Forhan-coated brush—gently at first until the gums harden, then more vigorously. If the gums are very tender, massage with the finger, instead of the brush. If gum shrinkage has already set in, use Forhan's according to directions, and consult a dentist immediately for special treatment.

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WORLD PRESS ON THE CONGRESS

(Continued)

whatever, then she must withdraw from Siberia," says the Tokyo *Kokumin*, and it adds:

If others laugh at the fact that Japan has not been able to accomplish anything while making so great a sacrifice in life and treasure, it cannot be helped. We should rather try to prove that we are foolishly honest. Everybody recognizes the fact that Japan has been foolish, but it will take some pains to prove that we are honest, for the Powers, which think that Japan has inscrutable ambitions, entertain misgivings, and are inclined to regard every Japanese act a dishonesty.

The Washington Conference is not of a character to concern itself with Siberian questions, but these may not impossibly be touched, since some country is attempting to bring forward all questions relating to Russia and Siberia. In order to make clear her position, Japan may also be required to refer to the circumstances in which her troops were despatched. Thus an opportunity for the elucidation of Japan's position will present itself, and the authorities should be prepared to take its advantage. First of all, the evacuation of Siberia should be carried out to eliminate the seed of suspicion. Administrators may sometimes err, but it is necessary that they should endeavor to put things right there after. If there is further procrastination, it will only add to the blunders already committed.

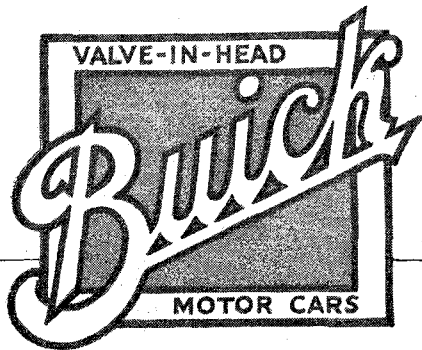
Cooperation between China and Japan at the Conference is proposed by the Tokyo *Yorodzu*, because—

The Chinese are suffering from racial discrimination as seriously as the Japanese. Most Americans in China say that the Americans are the best friends of the Chinese and are thus deceiving the majority of the Chinese people; but facts are eloquent. In fact, no Chinese laborer is allowed to enter America, while all the Chinese are denied the right of naturalization.

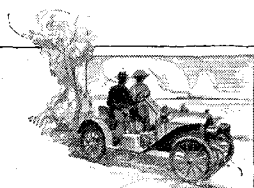
If the Chinese wish to extend their rights in the world, they should, first of all, demand the equality of all races, and the Chinese proposal to the Pacific Conference should be for absolute equality. It is to be hoped that this point will be pressed until immigration questions are settled. The Japanese blunder at the Paris Conference should not be repeated. Racial equality is a demand of justice, and Great Britain and America, which opposed it, are unjust. Since they oppose such an unimpeachable proposal, they should not be qualified for speaking of justice. China should make great efforts to demonstrate the principle of racial equality, and Japan should assist her and call the whites to account for their arrogance.

An English-language newspaper in Tokyo, *The Japan Advertiser*, which gives wide currency to the vernacular press through its daily translations, urges proper publicity of the Conference proceedings, and observes:

Apart from "committee business," is there any reason why fairly full "straight" reports of the discussions should not be recorded by competent reporters and published after revision by the speakers? It is being said in Washington that the Administration attaches the greatest value



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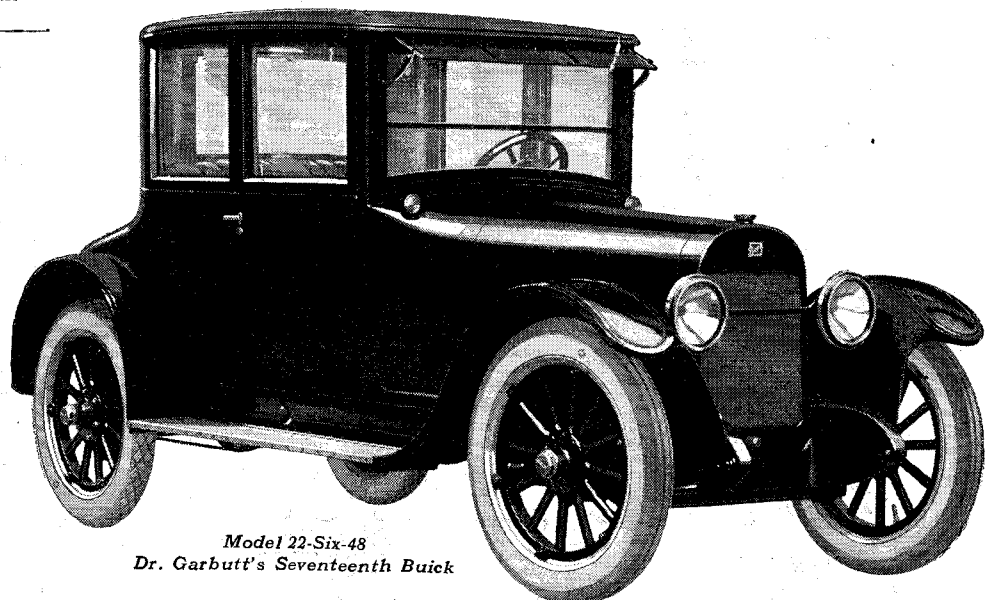
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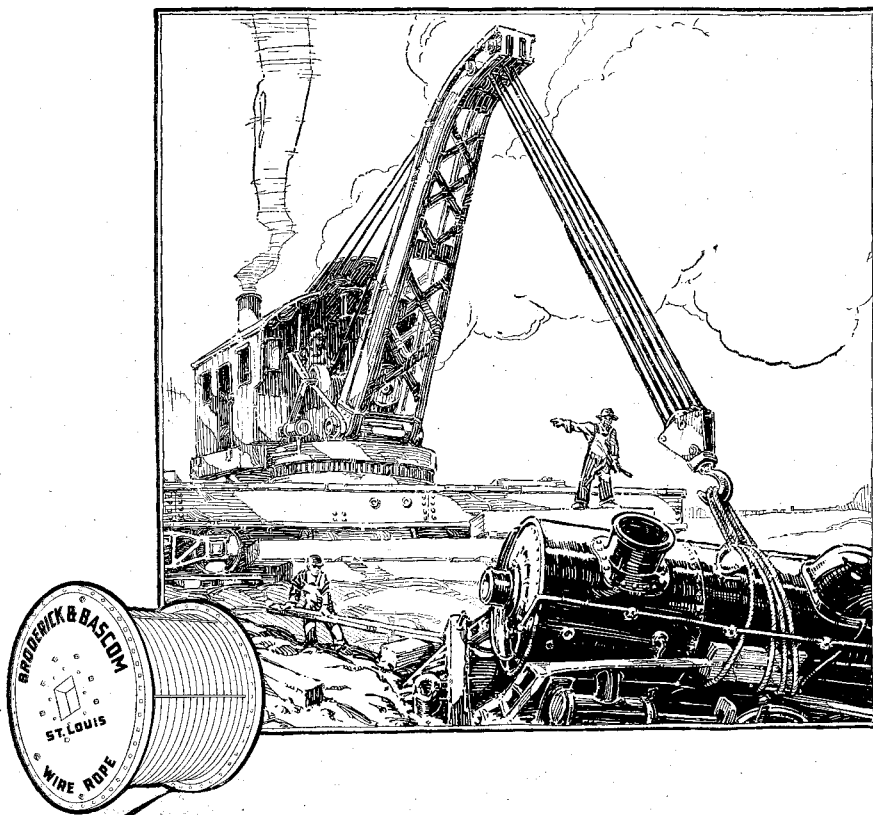
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WORLD PRESS ON THE CONGRESS

(Continued)

to the educational effects of the Conference on the American public. The consideration must appeal to European and Asiatic governments with equal force. Government cannot be divided into watertight compartments, home affairs to be talked of with complete openness while foreign affairs, which include the greatest of all risks, are curtailed in a special holy of holies, where only official feet may tread.

Education is a necessity, and it will be deplorable if the opportunity which this gathering affords to enlighten the great masses of the people on foreign problems is neglected.

It must also be remembered that the extraordinary resources of the American press will be utilized to the utmost to paint a daily picture of the happenings at the Conference. That picture had better be right than wrong, and it will not be right unless means of making it so are thought out in time.

CHINA

China is the real crux of the Conference in the view of Mr. B. Lennox-Simpson, Advisor to the Chinese Government, who writes in the London *Pall Mall and Globe* that it "will speedily become the question of questions and monopolize the energies and interests of all the delegates," he adds:

"If the principle be laid down at the very beginning and firmly adhered to, that all questions relating to matters within the geographical limits of the Chinese territory must be initiated by the Chinese delegation and not by other Powers, we shall in any case obtain a very careful and moderate presentation of the burning issue of the day. China does not desire the moon, nor does she desire to bring forward any matter which is not of immediate importance to her. If there be generosity and fair play I fully expect that something resembling the old equilibrium will be gradually reestablished in the Far East, and that, thanks to a reorganized and pacific China, many of the elements which to-day seem so threatening, because China is weak and wrongly viewed by sister nations, will gradually be dissipated, and a more friendly spirit grow up."

This would make China a plain problem, if it were not for the fact that the Chinese delegation at Washington is said to represent merely the Peking Government in the North of China and is utterly scorned by the South China Republic with its President Sun Yat Sen, its Foreign Minister the famous Wu Ting-fang, and their adherents, who are alleged to number more than one half of the entire Chinese nation. *The China Review* (New York) declares flatly that Peking "cannot speak for China because the clique is gagged with loans from Tokyo and can only echo their master's words." We read then:

"In Canton is located a regularly organized government acknowledged by six of the richest provinces in China. More than 200,000,000 people and 1,000,000 square miles of territory look to the constitutional Government of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to give them a fair representation.

"Peking could not represent these

millions at Washington even if it would, for these millions do not recognize Peking and will have nothing to do with its clique now in power.

"How absurd then to expect agreements reached by delegates who do not represent them to be binding on these millions, who are demanding direct representation at the Conference."

The Shanghai North China Herald concedes that Canton "may have made out an excellent case why Peking should not speak for China at the Armament Conference" but at the same time it avers that "Canton has assuredly not established a case why Canton should speak for China." This journal continues:

"Neither Dr. Sun Yat-sen nor anybody else has any conspicuous difficulty in showing that Peking's claim to speak for China is based upon a very slender foundation, but in the present case, it must be noted, Dr. Sun has confined his presentation of evidence to the foreign intrigues of the Northern politicians. There is not a word about that equally important subject, Peking's relations to the rest of China. The case against Peking would surely be strengthened by showing how the Tuchuns can openly flout its behests, how China possesses not one army and one navy but several, and how their compliance with the policy of the capital depends upon the personal inclinations of their commanders. The evidence is incomplete without a reference to these matters, as showing the value to be placed on any undertaking which it might give on disarmament, for instance. No doubt in an international conference it is all important that there should be a full knowledge of secret agreements which may place one country under the domination of another represented at the same table, but the government's position *vis-à-vis* its own people, when the position is such as China's, is of scarcely less moment. The fact that Dr. Sun has carefully avoided this point shows the weakness of his own claim for representation. Granted that his manifesto puts Peking in a very bad light, can it be said that he has made out any good case for Canton? All he has to say on that subject is that the Canton Government is entirely free and stands uncommitted *vis-à-vis* any foreign Power and that it has been established in pursuance of the government-making power vested in parliament by the Constitution.

"This is all very well in its way, but a great deal more is required to establish Canton's claim to be considered the political capital of China. There will be found as many people to dispute the constitutionality of Dr. Sun as President as there are to support it, and once that point is left behind what practical difference is there between Kuangtung and the other provincial groups in the country? In this, principally, that while other groups profess a nominal allegiance to Peking, Canton does not. On the other hand, a great similarity exists in the fact that they all go their own way, and their actions are inspired either by the desire for power or the fear of conquest."

The Peking Daily News believes that the only way China can obtain the greatest possible advantage out of the Conference is for all sections of the community to sink their differences and to devote their whole time and energy to national problems and

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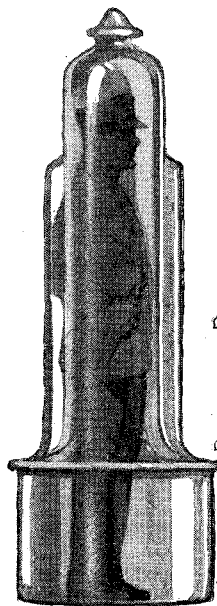
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(Continued)

external controversies, which China "has to solve or else its place in the family of independent nations may be seriously affected." A contributor to the *North China Daily News* (Shanghai) writes that "unless unity is reached, foreign intervention will result" and Hollington K. Tong similarly urges unity in the *Shanghai Weekly Review*, where he writes:

"Suppose that China has obtained everything from the Conference she desires, including the return of Kiaochow, the return of the Kiao-Tsi Railway, the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung, the abolition of spheres of influence and of interest, the return of concessions and settlements, the withdrawal of foreign troops from China, and even the abolition or the revision of the treaties which are one-sided, and derogatory to Chinese sovereign rights, she will not derive any material benefit as long as internal disturbances go on and the militarists are ruling the nation with an iron hand."

The Peking *Ching Pao* considers the Conference "an opportunity that comes once in a thousand years, and China must not fail to seize it for the removal of all injustice imposed on her by other countries," and the Shanghai *Chung Hua Hsin Pao* observes:

"Concerning disarmament, China cannot give direct assistance, but we can help in removing the causes of military competition. First, Japan imports from China every year vast quantities of raw materials and uses them for the manufacture of battle-ships and ammunition. If the causes of naval competition between America and Japan are in China we shall endeavor to eliminate them at the Conference. Second, what we desire in our relations with other nations is to obtain a common benefit for all. That is to say, China wishes other nations to respect her national integrity and to refrain from taking steps to mar the economic development of the country. America's insistence on the so-called 'open door policy in China' and Japan's slogan, for China-Japan friendship are all in accord with the wishes of peaceful China. But to attempt to rob China of her industrial opportunities under the beautiful pretext of the 'open door' or to demand special privileges under the plea of friendship are things which China cannot welcome. If this be understood by all nations dealing with China, international intercourse therein will run smoothly.

"China's constructive suggestions to the Conference are in the first place the return of Shantung. We can acknowledge Japan's rights in South Manchuria, but we cannot acquiesce in Japan's colonial policy in Shantung, because the latter is the holy cradle of Chinese civilization. In the second place, China demands that all foreign Powers forsake the old diplomacy and try to extend assistance to the Chinese in the colossal work of reconstruction. This they can do, first of all, by wiping out within a prescribed period such obnoxious practices as extra-territorial jurisdiction, denial of the Chinese tariff autonomy, maintaining spheres of influence and foreign settlements within the Republic. Knowing that the imperialism of the nineteenth century was the cause of the World War, it is high time for the world to prevent the

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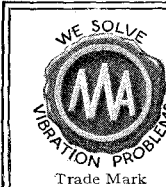
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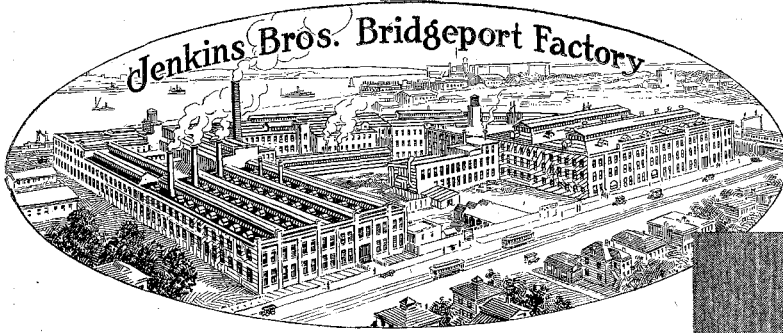
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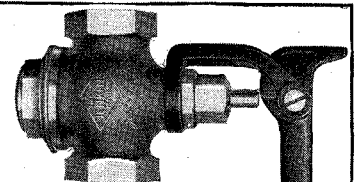
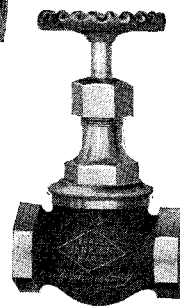
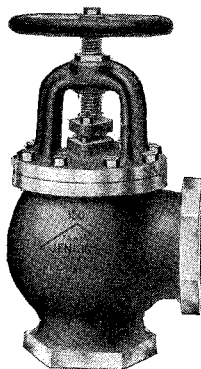
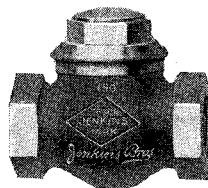
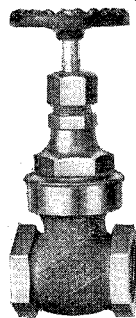
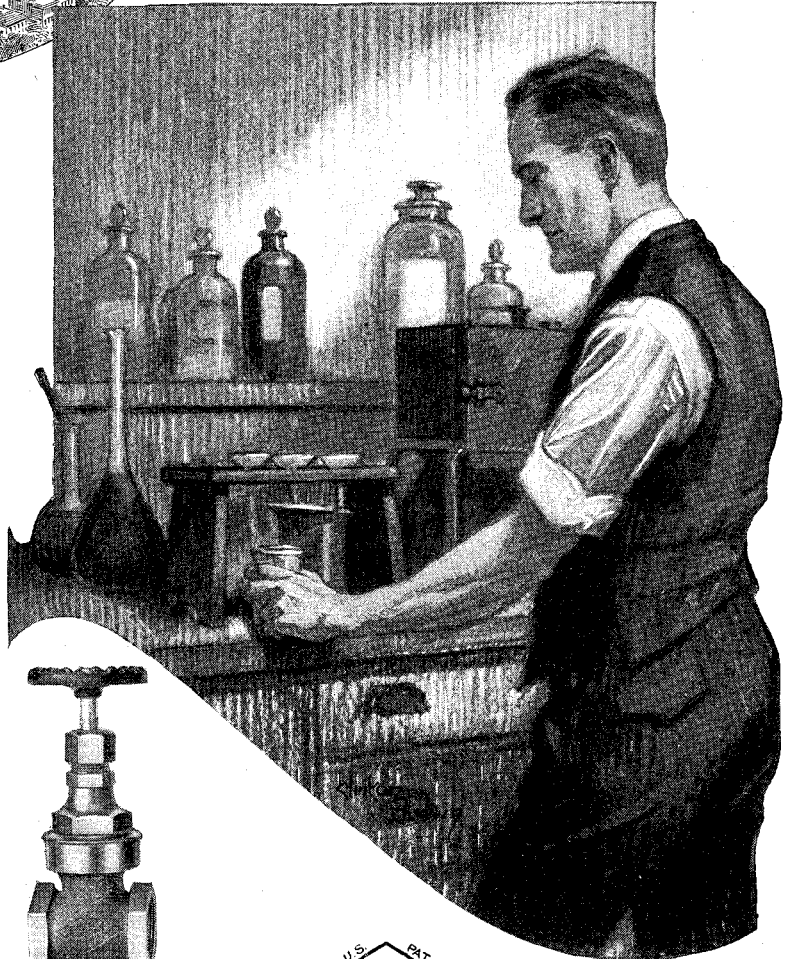
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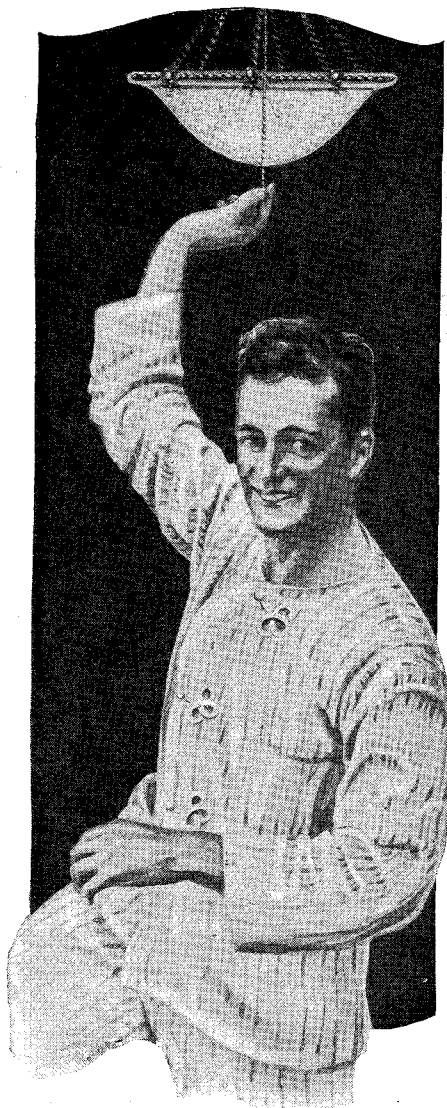


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(Continued)

occurrence of a second World War by reconstructing, through the Conference, its policy toward the Far East.

The *Shih Pao* holds that:

Unless China gets a full measure of justice, it is idle to speak of stopping war on the Pacific. Injustice to China will start a conflagration on the Pacific, altho it is too early to say whether China's own part in the conflict will be active or passive. On account of her political weakness and internal disorder China is a coveted object of exploitation in the eyes of shortsighted nations that are allured by immediate advantages. It is up to farsighted nations—Great Britain and France—to help in serving the death-warrant on such exploitation from which both the innocent and the guilty will suffer. Is not prevention better than cure?

Says the *Sin Wen Pao*:

Altho the Pacific Conference cannot stamp out militarism altogether, yet there is every reason to believe that the military budgets of the Powers will be subject to certain limitations. In spite of the fact that the Chinese armies are inefficiently equipped, our militarists adhere to their policy of aggrandizement. The people have been taxed to the limit for the upkeep of the bandit-soldiery. Necessity demands that Chinese militarism should be uprooted by hook or by crook. Our friendly nations maintain big forces for the purpose of national defense, but our soldiers prey upon the people in order to satisfy their economic wants. The Powers deem it necessary to reduce their armament owing to the pressure of circumstances, irrespective of the valuable service rendered by their troops to the country. It is absolutely necessary that our forces should be disbanded.

FRANCE

The Paris *Eclair*, which is supposed to reflect closely the views of Premier Briand, points to the fact that "war is prowling all around us" as the Washington Conference opens, and asks:

Can it be prevented? Many who know the Far East doubt it. Japan feels that America wishes to control the expansions she needs. Japan is irritated. Doubtless she would have already revolted if she could have counted on her English allies. But the recent Dominion Conference was a warning.

Highly placed diplomats are going to do a lot of humanitarian talking while experts in closed rooms try to reach solutions. Disappointed in England, many Frenchmen dream of an American alliance which would assure us advantages we do not get from the Versailles Treaty. We are far from that. But Mr. Briand has a mission to fulfil to the American people. The Wilsonian Socialists during the Peace Conference reproached the imperialism of Clemenceau. With our 300,000,000,000 francs debts, with our frontier as open as after the Battle of Waterloo, we were accused of having abused Germany. Mr. Briand can show our empty hands to prove our innocence. He can point how we were content with a scrap of paper signed by Mr. Wilson as a guarantee of our security. The American Senate has shown us that this paper has no value, and once again we are forced to ask American aid against German aggression.

In the *Action Francaise* Jacques Bainville reminds his French readers that the Washington Conference is above all a conference on the Pacific, and he advises Mr. Briand to talk business with the Americans. Pointing to the possible naval bases in the Pacific which are owned by France, he remarks: "That is what we are carrying to Washington. That is France's good card. With that we can get into the Washington negotiations." The Paris *Intransigeant* says that if the United States wants Tahiti or any of the Marquesas Islands in the Pacific which France owns, France should not let false sentiment against losing territory blind her to her real interests, and it adds:

What do we want with the Marquesas Islands, anyhow? They are only a domain of vast silence, governed by an official who does not have to worry because the telephone is not working, and each is subgoverned by a gendarme, who is army, police, mayor, judge and tax collector.

America, which tends toward maritime supremacy, which has plenty of money, which is relatively close to these lands, so far removed from our influence—might she not do better for them? I believe that there is a conflict between our interests and our sentiments. If at Washington they should talk of cession of some of these islands, perhaps we should hesitate—but only hesitate.

Le Gaulois points out that Americans are "full of sentiment when they stand before the ruins of Rheims or Verdun, but they are fuller of hard common sense when their own interests are in question," and it proceeds:

In Washington America is going to be pro-French in so far as France furnishes her aid. She will be pro-English only as England helps her case. Now, America, fond of peace by principle and because she sees in the constant danger of big wars an obstacle to her economic expansion, believes that the world's peace is troubled by the attitude of Japan. Not that the Mikado is making threats in the direction of America, but that he is trying to extend his political and economic influence over China; that he holds a grip on her by credits and the control of her railroads and by other means. This preponderating influence Japan owes to special interests which Mr. Wilson recognized.

Now, what the Americans want is that the Chinese market recover its liberty. The limitation of armaments is naturally a factor since it is by her fleet that Japan possesses a strong argument for the retention of her privileges. The citadel once carried, conversations will become easier. The Japanese will come to Washington with smiles, saying that they will disarm as fast as the others do, but that they cannot give up their advantages in the Far East.

Here is where England comes in. Will she support the thesis of Japan as her treaty would indicate, or will she take America's side? A few years ago the answer would have been easy. England would have stuck to her ally of the Far East. To-day the situation is changed. Drained by war, England does not desire to run the risk of a conflict with the United States. Also her Dominions, become autonomous, have indicated to London that



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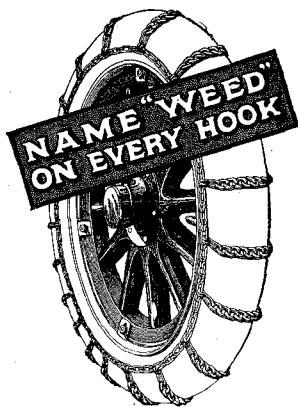
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WORLD PRESS ON THE CONGRESS

(Continued)

they do not wish Great Britain to have a pro-Japanese policy.

The rôle of France in such a situation appears up to now obscure. She should try to prevent disarmament being tied up with the Pacific, for she has her own problem on the Rhine. If the Conference smooths out the differences between England and the United States, France ought to be a party to the accord in order to obtain, if possible, the guarantees she needs.

ITALY

One of the most influential newspapers in Italy is the Milan *Corriere della Sera*, which says:

With the reparations question Mr. Harding has intervened with caution from the very beginning. Nevertheless the few words he said possessed a great power to move France and Germany to come to an understanding. Now he invites England, France, Italy and Japan to a Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, and for peace in the Pacific. In these purposes Mr. Wilson also could and should acquiesce. Nothing is changed but the method. Mr. Wilson and the Democrats, through inexperience and awkwardness, made America a checker in the fingers of Lloyd George . . . Mr. Harding and the Republicans return the direction of America to herself, and develop a more elastic international organization which is less subject to the interests of only one nation. . . . General Smuts originally had the idea of a Conference on the Pacific question between the English nations, America and Japan. Mr. Harding, who, with regard to the reparation problem, has made clear his resolve to take no initiative except by request, made the Pacific Conference his own idea and increased its capacity. This means that America becomes in a sense the arbiter between England and her Empire. The Washington Conference, which is going to be useful to continents other than America will not be less useful to Europe.

But the famous organ of the Socialist party in Italy, *Avanti*, ridicules the enthusiasm of the joyful populations of the various states of the American Union, who are keen to follow the developments of the Conference "trusting that from this great Areopagus a decision may come forth which shall put an end to all wars," and calls them "credulous and clumsy children." Now the true theme of discussion in the Washington Conference "even if nothing will leak from the official communications" is—

The exploitation of China, in which the three greatest capitalist powers of the world, Great Britain, United States and Japan, are especially interested. Each of them is in some respect weaker than the other, above all, on the seas. Consequently the problem that confronts the three great capitalist countries is whether it is convenient to continue naval construction indefinitely till the day when the three monsters will devour one another over China's wealth, or whether it behooves them to come to an agreement about dividing the grand prize amicably. . . . Evidently the European lesson has been of no use, either to the Far East or to the

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WORLD PRESS ON THE CONGRESS

(Continued)

Far West, and in this hour of capitalist civilization and power, war remains the fatal outcome of both national and international cupidity.

HOLLAND

The *Rotterdamsche Courant* hopes Japan will not go away from the Conference with the "same grudging feeling" that Germany harbored when she left the Algeciras Conference, and is inclined to wish that Japan "receive a free hand to expand in Siberia." The Dutch undoubtedly feel that they hold an important position in the East, we learn from correspondents at The Hague, and "as the Dutch Indies are open to international trade without preference tariffs of any kind, the integrity of the East Indies is of international importance." The total surface of the Dutch Indian possessions covers 5,000,000 square miles, and Netherlands subjects number 59,000,000. Dutch exports in 1920 amounted to \$2,000,000,000, and in 1918 exports from the colonies were \$485,000,000. Altho some newspapers are skeptical about the outcome, the consensus of opinion is favorable. It is remarked as a curious coincidence that Mr. Harding's proposal comes at a moment when Holland is organizing a stronger scheme of naval defense for the Dutch East Indies, altho to do this is a great financial burden.

GERMANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The Berlin *Volkszeitung* considers the Conference "a political event of foremost importance," and says that "if the American President succeeds in carrying his undertaking to a fortunate conclusion then the nations of the world will have realized the longing of centuries, and the President will have set up for himself a monument more durable than the fame of all the generals of history." The *Berliner Tageblatt* believes the Conference is wholly inspired by "American and British naval rivalry, the prevailing tension of the American-Japanese situation, and the difficult and complicated issues wrapped up in the problem of the Pacific." The Pan-German *Tageszeitung* says, "a self-conscious nation like the United States, with its vast frontage on the Atlantic and the Pacific, will insist on maintaining a formidable navy," and questions whether "the combustibles stored up in American-Japanese relations will prove conducive to the creation of an atmosphere for international discussion of the disarmament issues." The *Kölnische Zeitung* is of the belief that "in these days the question of disarmament has only theoretic significance," as must be admitted if one looks about in Europe, and it points the finger of accusation towards French militarism first of all, and then elsewhere. The best that can be hoped for, this paper believes, is a diminution of the standing armies in England, Belgium, France and Italy, while the Breslau *Schlesische Zeitung* calls "universal disarmament" "only a beautiful dream."

In Norway the Christiania *Morgenbladet* thinks the best that can be hoped for from the Conference is "a certain reduction of the armaments of the contracting parties" and thus disarmament will be "relative"; but "any guarantee against a future war will not be reached." The leading Norwegian commercial organ, *Norges Handelsog Sjøfartstidende* predicts that

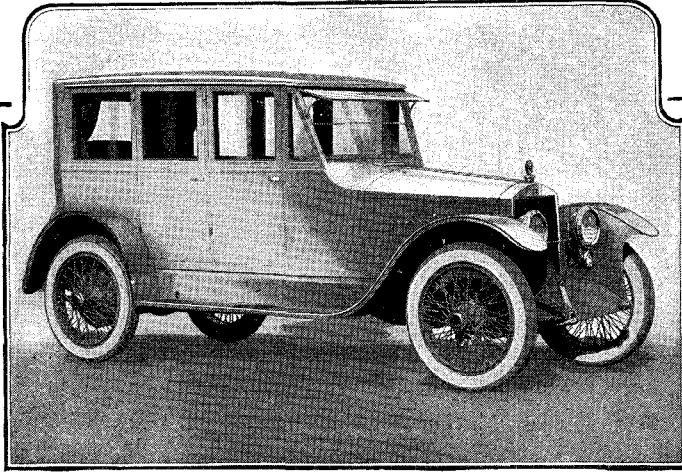
many "happy guests and some less happy" will be seated at the Conference tables, and that "the diplomatic wheels will be running busily during the fall." In Sweden the Stockholm *Svenska Dagbladet* thinks that "quite naturally there will never be question of anything but partial reduction at sea," and as to land disarmament this is "a visionary dream." In Denmark the Copenhagen *Berlingske Tidende* avers that "we may possibly expect some guidance in the near future as to a better understanding of the present world situation," but in Switzerland the Lausanne *Feuille d'Avis* says that the problem of world disarmament has become "one of the grand chimeras which humanity drags after it continuously and which still thrills the hearts of thousands in all corners of the world who are awaiting patiently the realization of their ideals."

In Spain the Madrid *Patria* declares: "A country without boundaries and no intermingling of races might, in the course of centuries, succeed in fixing perennial peace," and if Mr. Harding "leader of the most powerful country in the world" could bring about such a condition "his glory would surpass that of Cæsar and of Luther." Says the *Heraldo de Madrid*: "Disarmament can be universal only by the common consent of all countries. Spain must develop her military organization as long as she sees other countries mistrustful and defiant. There can be no end to war." In Hungary the Budapest *A Nap* declares that "as long as Hungary lies dismembered we cannot consider the idea of disarming. No, not even if they take every weapon away from us, and leave only our fists to fight with. The ideal of eternal peace as it is stated in the gospel can only come when Hungarian will be freely spoken from the Carpathians to the Adriatic. Moreover, the world needs our proud national army as a defense against the Bolshevism which threatens Europe."

In Roumania the Bucharest *Neamul Romanesc* avers that "through disarmament we cannot attain social justice, but once we have secured social justice, we can attain disarmament, in addition to other blessings." In Bulgaria, the Sofia *Narodna Odbrana* recalls that "it was the prophet Isaiah who first advanced the idea of disarmament, and during the 2700 years since his time the question has more than once come under discussion. . . . The annihilation of armies must first begin with the development of the moral man, and the time needed for this task is just as long as that which separates us from the time of Isaiah." But the Sofia *Radical* believes that a step towards disarmament is the "limitation of armaments."

In Greece the Athens *Kathimerini* regrets that the question should reach that country when it is forced to take arms to secure its rights, and it says that "as long as the spirit of justice is lacking in the world, arms remain as the only means to prevent the misdeeds of the evil-doer." The *Hestia* believes, however, that as nobody dares deny the imposing idea of President Harding, this reception should be considered "the best guarantee for the future."

In Turkey, the Constantinople *Peyam Sabah* expresses its belief that under present circumstances "disarmament is an impossibility" and "in the meantime it is necessary for us Turks to bring the Sublime Porte to its old position, so as to enable it to represent the nation in the presence of the Great Powers. Then the world will see clearly that Turkey does not form an obstacle to disarmament and to world peace."



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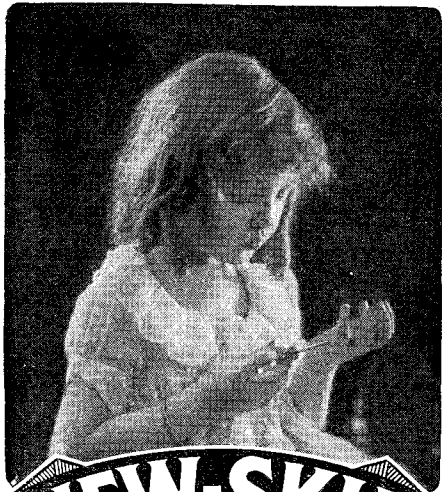
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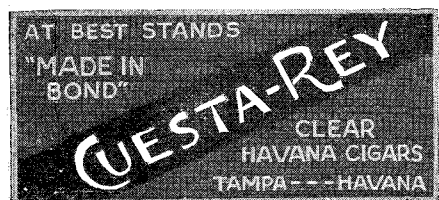
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INVESTMENTS AND FINANCE

FOR AN ANGLO-AMERICAN GOLD CONFERENCE

THE arguments advanced by certain English bankers in favor of international measures for the stabilization of gold are given editorial support by the London *Daily Telegraph*. It suggests that action should take the shape of a joint Anglo-American conference with the object of creating a center of stability and stabilizing the value of gold. The London daily appeals to America for her own sake and for that of the world to abandon the present policy of financial isolation and to offer help in working out a scheme for world-wide rehabilitation:

Since the armistice America has taken up a strictly self-centered—we will not call it selfish—line of action with regard to all these most difficult monetary problems. She has drawn across the Atlantic all available stocks of gold that came within the influence of her irresistible magnets. Her Treasury vaults must resemble, on an infinitely larger scale, those of King Croesus, and the whole world is her debtor.

And yet, tho America is bursting with bullion, she is faced with a far bigger unemployment problem than we have in this country, and most of the gold in her vaults might as well be lying deep in some cave in mid-Atlantic for all the benefit that it is to her and to her industrial population.

For the greatest creditor nation to be suffering most acutely from the world's monetary crisis is one of the supreme ironies of history. . . .

That the United States can do more than any other country to stabilize the value of gold is not in dispute, nor is it in dispute that this country occupies the next best position, but hitherto American statesmanship has been steadfastly opposed to any policy which would seem to weaken America's position as the premier creditor nation and as the nation which holds the vastest stock of gold.

Even to-day the suggestion of an all-round cancellation of debt meets with the same response which Mr. Chamberlain's offer met with in 1919—an offer that Great Britain should cancel the debts owing to her from the Allied nations if the United States in turn would cancel a similar amount of Britain's debt to her, most of which debt, it is to be remembered, was incurred by Great Britain not for herself but for her allies, the United States preferring to have the name of Britain on the bond because she thought the security would be better. . . .

If the two countries could work out a practicable scheme for stabilizing the value of gold, a great improvement would immediately take place, and any loss sustained by the United States would surely soon be counterbalanced by her revived trading activity.

No problem is half so urgent. In a world where the nations are so closely interdependent upon one another for their industrial life the present shaking instability at its foundations with respect to money and gold threatens to bring the whole structure down with a crash. If the United States and the United Kingdom cannot save it, none else can.

A HINT TO THE "BUY-NOW" PROPAGANDISTS

THERE is bad psychology in some of the advertising campaigns to encourage the revival of buying. *The Wall Street Journal* feels convinced, and it fears that the buyers' week movement "has largely degenerated into a drive at the consumers' self-esteem." After all, the fundamental selling points are quality and price. When an advertisement persuades a reader that he can get something he wants for a price that suits his pocketbook, the advertiser has scored. But "when a merchant discards discussion of the quality of his goods in favor of impudence, thinly masked under a sham altruism, the reaction in the reader's mind is swift and sure. It is a matter less of psychology than of logic when he concludes that if price and quality have had to yield first place in the vendor's argument there is something wrong with one or the other and likely enough with both." The writer on the editorial page of the New York financial daily continues his advice to those trying to revive business by appeals to the consumer:

Whether a man chooses to have or to go without, to buy now or a month hence, to array himself as a lily of the field or as a cabbage, is his own affair. He naturally resents an insinuation that what presents itself to his mind as thrift, beneficial to society hardly less than to himself, merits only a sneer from the advertiser. The whole basis of an intended appeal made in that fashion is wrong, either as advertising or as economics, and aside from the feelings of the individual.

Necessity is not a fixt standard, but such as it is it must govern the volume of trade.

Even a dealer in diamonds, if discreet, will not urge his wares upon a prospective buyer on the ground that the latter has the money and the former wants it—and still less on the plea that the man or woman who does not display gems will be regarded by the trade as a person of no consequence. He must contrive, without insulting them, to reach those to whom diamonds are or can be made a necessity.

Advertising is the handmaiden of trade, but she occasionally suffers a touch of hysterics, as when she lately foisted upon a "day"-ridden country something she described as "national sweets day." If confectioners can put forward no better reason for buying their candy than a "day" the industry is in a truly parlous state.

Trade must revive and advertising must assist it to do so. To that end let merchants have done with "days," with the too familiar pretense that merchandise is offered below "value," with the veiled implication that refusal to spend freely is in itself contemptible, or has aught to do with the idleness of any one who should be employed.

Let them return to the first principle of advertising, namely, of bidding for merited preference in the satisfaction of real needs, and the second principle, that every tangible thing has its price, even the consumer's money.

INVESTMENTS AND FINANCE

Continued

MOTOR BUSES ON THE RAILROAD

A NEW departure in railroading is reported from New England, where the New Haven is finding it economical to put motor buses on some of its now unprofitable small branch lines. If results continue to be satisfactory these buses are likely to supplant steam trains to a considerable degree. To quote *The Wall Street Journal*:

As a matter of fact the New Haven has been trying out one of these buses since August on the Narragansett Pier Railroad, which it owns, and results have been satisfactory. New Haven has placed orders with the Osgood-Bradley Car Co. for three more of these motor cars and will make further tests with them. It is proposed to try them on three small branches, namely, between Tremont and Fairhaven, Hyannis and Yarmouth, Winsted and Farmington.

These buses are in reality a combination of motor bus and car and are 36 to 38 feet long. They are somewhat similar to buses operating in the streets, but are much larger and have flanged wheels to run on a standard gage railroad track. They are equipped with Mack motors and develop more than 50 horsepower.

Each car or bus has a forward compartment about six feet long to accommodate the motorman and carry baggage. As only a motorman and conductor are required, it is obvious that expense of operation is much less than for a small combination steam train which would require a crew of at least four men.

BRANCH BANKING IN NEW YORK

THE formal absorption of the Metropolitan Bank and its many branches by the Chase National Bank leads *The American Banker* (New York) to call attention to the great growth of branch banking that has recently taken place in New York. The chief forces behind this movement have been the rapid growth of the city and the northward trend of business. At first,

The trust companies and the State banks had a decided advantage over the National banks, since National banks are not allowed to open branches under the National Banking law. However, this difficulty can be overcome by the purchase or merger of State institutions and their continued operation as branches.

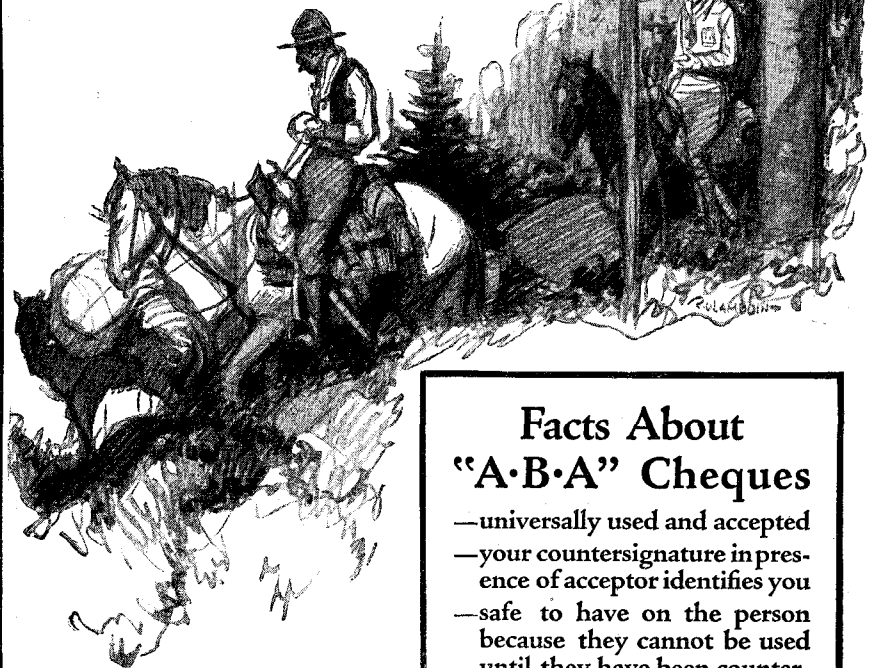
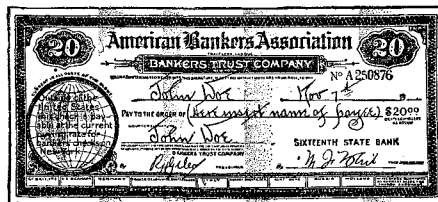
Last spring the National City Bank purchased the Commercial Exchange Bank and was thus able to establish one branch at 42nd Street and Madison Avenue and another at 26th Street and Broadway.

Instead of enumerating all the banks that have been setting up branches, *The American Banker* finds it easier to name the large financial institutions that have not yet done so. The only large banks now without branches, we are told, are the National Bank of Commerce, the Hanover National Bank, the Bank of New York, the Seaboard National Bank, the United States Trust Company, the Chemical National Bank, the National Park Bank, and the American Exchange National Bank.

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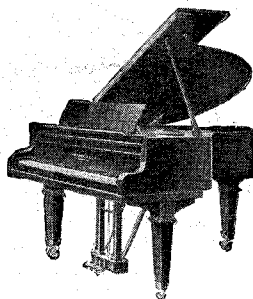
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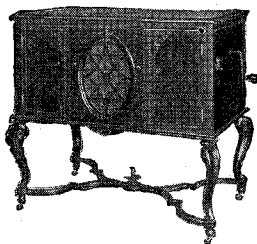
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**CURRENT EVENTS****FOREIGN**

October 26.—Premier Briand receives a vote of confidence from the French Chamber of Deputies, and will head the French delegation in the Arms Conference.

The Hungarian Government demands that former Emperor Charles abdicate the throne and recognize the complete cessation of his dynastic rights.

The German Reichstag votes its confidence in the new ministry just formed by Chancellor Julius Wirth.

The Prince of Wales starts on a visit to India and Japan.

October 27.—New outbreaks among the Moplahs in British India are reported.

October 28.—Police disperse several hundred Communists attempting to demonstrate in front of the American Consulate at Basle, Switzerland, as a protest against the conviction on a murder charge of two Italians in Massachusetts.

October 29.—The Russian Soviet government has notified foreign creditor governments that it will recognize the old debts incurred up to 1914 on condition that the Soviet Republic is recognized, according to a report from Riga.

October 30.—Ex-King Charles refuses to abdicate the Hungarian throne, and the Ambassadors' Council demands his surrender to the commander of a British squadron.

The Soviet Legation at Warsaw announces a new invasion of the Ukraine from Polish territory under direction of General Petlura, the anti-Bolshevik leader.

Threats against Major-General Enoch H. Crowder, adviser of the Cuban Government, and the United States Legation at Havana are made in proclamations distributed in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

October 31.—Premier Lloyd George receives an overwhelming vote of confidence from the British Parliament on his conduct of peace negotiations with Ireland.

The Reparations Commission grants Germany a fifteen days' extension on the first instalment of 500,000,000 gold marks of the second billion of her reparations payment due November 15.

November 1.—The Hungarian Cabinet has decided to comply with the demand of the Allies and allow them to depose the Hapsburg dynasty, according to a report from Budapest.

A bomb is exploded on the staircase at the American Consulate in Lisbon.

DOMESTIC

October 26.—Absolute economic equality, but complete social divergence between the white and negro races is urged by President Harding in an address at the semi-centennial celebration at Birmingham, Alabama.

The Senate votes to repeal the excess profits tax effective January 1, 1922, following similar action by the House.

October 27.—The railroad strike, scheduled for October 30, is called off, following the resolution adopted by the Labor Board pledging that no further wage reduction petitions would be considered until rules and working conditions had been settled.

Representative Thomas L. Blanton, Democrat, of Texas, is formally censured by Speaker Gillett for inserting certain passages in the *Congressional Record*.

October 28.—The railroads will proceed with their plans to seek new wage cuts through the Railroad Labor Board, announces Samuel Felton, Chairman of the Association of Western Railroad Executives.

Marshal Ferdinand Foch arrives in New York to be the guest of the American Legion, and is welcomed by General Pershing.

The corporation income tax of 15 per cent. is adopted by the Senate.

The United States has a potential voting strength of 54,421,832, according to the Census Bureau, the 1920 poll of the nation showing 27,661,880 men and 26,759,952 women twenty-one years of age and over, classed as citizens.

October 29.—Marshal Foch is formally welcomed to the United States by President Harding at Washington, and receives the nation's thanks for his victorious leadership.

In a decision stating its findings regarding the railroad strike situation, the Railroad Labor Board declares "that any union going out on strike will forfeit its right and the rights of its members in all existing contracts and lose all benefits accorded by the Transportation Act."

Captains Sumner E. W. Kittle, William V. Pratt and Louis N. Nulton are nominated by President Harding to be Rear-Admirals.

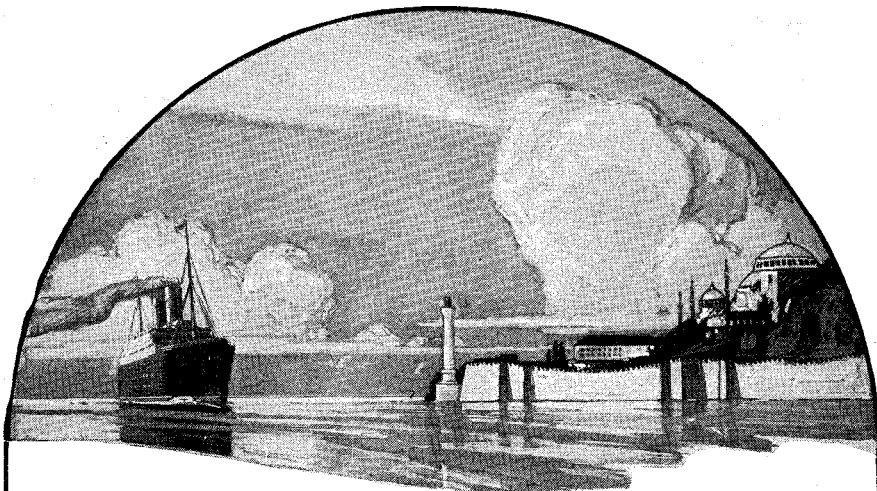
October 30.—The Nonpartizan League is overwhelmingly defeated in the recall election in North Dakota.

October 31.—Collection of funds for the United Mine Workers of America by having the operators deduct them from miners' wages is enjoined by Federal Judge A. D. Anderson sitting at Indianapolis. The order also enjoins all union officials and members from seeking to unionize the Williamson coal fields of West Virginia, where a strike has been in progress for more than a year.

The rank of ambassador is given to the four American delegates to the Armament Limitation Conference in order that they may sit in the Conference on an equality with the delegates of the other Powers.

November 1.—The Senate appoints a committee of five to investigate the charges made by Senator Watson, of Georgia, that American soldiers were shot by officers or hanged without trial during the World War.

The Main Thing.—An old darky got up one night at a revival meeting and said: "Brudders an' sisters, you knows an' I knows dat I ain't been what I oughter been. Ise robbed henroosts an' stole hawks, an' tole lies, an' got drunk, an' slashed folks wi' mah razor, an' shot craps, an' cussed an' swore; but I thank the Lord der's one thing I ain't nebber done: I ain't nebber lost mah religion."—*Western Christian Advocate*.



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"Yes, a machine candidate you might call him—he owns an automobile."—*Boston Transcript*.

Great Expectations.—"The manager paid Sybil a great compliment."

"How so?"

"He offered her a thinking part!"—*London Mail*.

When Is a Lost Ball?—This bit of irony, sarcasm or something appears in the form of a sign on a Scottish golf course: "Members will refrain from picking up lost balls until they have stopped rolling."—*Boston Transcript*.

The Floor Held.—"Did your watch stop when it dropped on the floor?" asked one man of his friend.

"Sure," was the answer. "Did you think it would go through?"—*Western Christian Advocate*.

Foul Play.—The Scottish bowling team is accompanied by a band of pipers which plays prior to every important match. The general opinion is that this gives a very unfair advantage to the Northerners, who are used to it.—*The Passing Show (London)*.

Caustic Dave.—Dave C. stepped into Ed. Wise's the other day and asked "the man who knows" for a pair of sox.

"What number?" he queried.

"Two, you poor dumbell! Do I look like a centipede?"—*Hollywood High School News*.

Hit and Run.—FATHER'S VOICE—"Maude, hasn't that young man started for home yet?"

CLEVER YOUNG MAN.—"I've reached third, sir."

FATHER'S VOICE.—"Well, steal, you bushy, steal!"—*The American Legion Weekly*.

His Difficulty.—REAL ESTATE AGENT—"This tobacco plantation is a bargain. I don't see why you hesitate. What are you worrying about?"

PROSPECTIVE BUT INEXPERIENCED PURCHASER.—"I was just wondering whether I should plant cigars or cigarettes."—*The American Legion Weekly*.

She Could Use Him.—"Rastus," said the judge sternly, "you're plain no-account and shiftless, and for this fight I'm going to send you away for a year at hard labor."

"Please, Jedge," interrupted Mrs. Rastus from the rear of the court room, "will yo' Honah jes' kinder split dat sentence? Don't send him away from home, but let dat hard labor stand."—*The American Legion Weekly*.

Her Misfortune.—A vicar of a scattered rural parish had a remarkable knowledge of fungi. So keen was he on his hobby, that he sometimes neglected his pastoral work to search for specimens. One day he stopped to see a bedridden old lady, who immediately reminded him how long it was since he had made his last call. "If I had been a toadstool," she declared, "you'd have been to see me long ago!"—*London Post*.

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THE LEXICOGRAPHER'S EASY CHAIR

In this column, to decide questions concerning the current use of words, the Funk & Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary is consulted as arbiter.

Readers will please bear in mind that no notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

"A. U.," New York, N. Y.—The word *agendum* is defined as "a thing to be done in distinction from a matter of belief." It forms its plural like the words *addendum*, *datum*, *memorandum*, and in the plural means, "a record of such things as are to be done; also, a program of business to be done, or papers to be read at a meeting." The "g" in this word is pronounced soft as the "g" in *gender*, the recognized pronunciation of the word being *a-jen'-da*. This is the pronunciation recorded by all American dictionaries, and indicated as in use in Great Britain by Sir James A. H. Murray in the *New English Dictionary on Historic Principles*, now in course of publication at Oxford University, England. According to Sir James Murray, the plural indicates "Things to be done, or items of business to be considered at a meeting." The word has been in use in English as a singular for more than three hundred years, and in its plural form, for two hundred years at least. It was recorded in the dictionary of Dr. John Ash, published in 1775.

"A. J. R.," Salt Lake City, Utah.—"The question has arisen as to which form of the pronoun is correct in the following sentence, 'Kindly transmit the message to *whomsoever*, *whomever*, or *whoever*, is in charge of the instrument.' Kindly advise."

Whoever is the correct form to use. Consult Fernald's "English Grammar Simplified," page 232, on the subject.

"W. J. S.," New York, N. Y.—"Please let me know through your column whether or not the words 'in so far' in the phrase 'in so far as' are to be written as three separate words or one word."

The *in* is redundant. *So far as* is complete in itself as an adverbial phrase, and expresses all that is meant. The incorrect phrase is probably modeled on *inasmuch as*, which, however, is grammatically different, *much* being a noun and requiring the preposition to give it adverbial force (in such amount or measure as), while *far* is itself an adverb, needing no preposition.

According to some grammarians, the compounding of phrases is not to be commended, and Goold Brown states that "no regular phrase . . . should be needlessly converted into a compound word . . . for, in general, a phrase is one thing and a word is another, and they ought to be kept as distinct as possible."

"A. M. D.," New York, N. Y.—"There is a difference of opinion in regard to the word *visa* as used in the following sentence, 'It is necessary to have your passports *visa* at the offices of the consuls of the various countries which you expect to visit.' Please advise if the word is used correctly."

Visé not *visa*. The correct word to use in the sentence submitted is *viséed*—"It is necessary to have your passports *viséed* at the offices of the consuls of the various countries, etc."

"R. W.," New Orleans, La.—The meaning of "Thesaur. Amer. Septent. Sigil." is: "Seal of the Treasury of North America."

"E. M. T.," Walla Walla, Wash.—"Please give me the correct pronunciation of the following terms: *Wassermann*, *salvarsan*, *salicylate*, *revedos*, *oboe*, *ration*, and *reveille*."

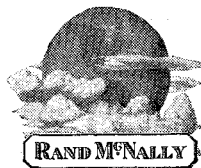
The terms you give are pronounced as follows:—*Wasserman*, *vas'-ar-man*—first and last *a*'s as in *art*, second *a* as in *final*; *salvarsan*, *salvar'-san*—first *a* as in *fat*, second *a* as in *art*, third *a* as in *final*; *salicylate*, *sal'-i-sil-et*—*a* as in *fat*, *i*'s as in *habit*, *e* as in *prey*; *revedos*, *rir'-dos*—*i* as in *police*, *o* as in *not*; *oboe*, *o'-boi*—*o* as in *go*, *oi* as in *oil*; or *o'-bo-e*—first *o* as in *go*, second *o* as in *obey*, *e* as in *prey*; *ration*, *re'shan*—*e* as in *prey*, *sh* as in *ship*, *a* as in *final*; or *rash'an*—*a* as in *fat*, *sh* as in *ship*, *a* as in *final*; *reveille*, *rev'e-li*—*e*'s as in *get*, *i* as in *police*; or *ra-vel'ya*—*a*'s as in *final*, *e* as in *prey*.

"K. G. B.," Delta, Colo.—"What is the correct plural of the word *ski*—*skis* or *skis*?"

The plural of *ski* is either *ski* or *skis*.



"Say, Pop! Where is Czecho-Slovakia?"



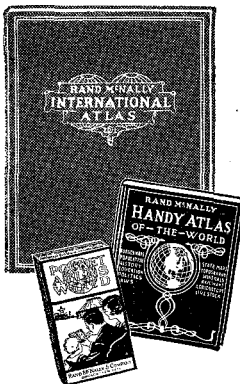
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Children have a way of asking embarrassing questions. In this particular case we are very much afraid little Johnnie will be requested to "run along and not bother Papa."

For despite the fact that the name Czecho-Slovakia has been appearing in the public prints for nearly three years, there are comparatively few men and women who could sit down tonight and definitely fix its position on the map.

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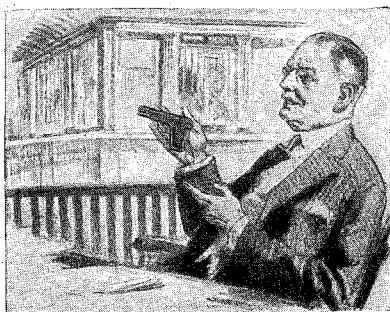
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The best argument for disarmament is Germany.—*Charleston Gazette.*

The standing armies may soon take a back seat.—*Greenville Piedmont.*

Another big war dance and the world's jig will be up.—*Columbia Record.*

What the world needs is to teach the young idea not to shoot.—*Columbia Record.*

Most of those Far East problems are Chinese puzzles.—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.*

Will it be armament disagreement or disarmament agreement?—*Greenville Piedmont.*

One of our Cockney visitors says the Conference will be 'armless.—*Wall Street Journal.*

The world must abandon its goose-step if it wants to avoid its swan-song.—*Columbia Record.*

Nationally speaking, a chip on the shoulder puts a tax on the back.—*Greenville Piedmont.*

If the race for naval supremacy goes on, the world will be sunk by its floating debt.—*Columbia Record.*

Naval disarmament, as we get it, is a plan to eliminate the barks of the dogs of war.—*Columbia Record.*

As we understand it, this Washington Conference is to be a kind of Disarmageddon.—*New York American.*

No nation should try to use the proposal to limit its guns and swords as an opportunity to grind its axes.—*Washington Post.*

The portals of the Washington Conference hall should bear the inscription, "Enter without knocking."—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.*

The problem of the Washington Conference is to get the White and Yellow to mix without mixing up.—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.*

Some interests would like to see the Washington Conference attempt so much nothing would be accomplished.—*Chicago Daily News.*

Some nations' idea of disarmament is to make the other fellow wear gloves while they fight with brass knuckles.—*Boston Shoe and Leather Reporter.*

The greatest honor the nation could bestow upon the "unknown hero" would be to live for the things for which he died.—*Sylvia (N. C.) Jackson County Journal.*

Making the world safe by reducing the other fellow's navy should work as well as cutting costs of living by reducing the other fellow's profits.—*Marion Star.*

The Disarmament Conference will be the biggest thing we have pulled off in America since our gigantic Preparedness Day parades.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman.*

The less pax the more tax.—*Columbia Record.*

Naval reduction is logical deduction.—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.*

The nations will have more in their hands when they put less into their arms.—*Washington Post.*

Much of the friction between nations is occasioned by fiction.—*New York Evening Telegram.*

There isn't room in the same world for friendships and battle-ships.—*Fort Smith Southwest American.*

If the Disarmament Conference wants quick results it ought to meet in a muddy trench.—*Chicago Journal of Commerce.*

Tip to the Disarmament Conference—An unemployed army is better than an army of unemployed.—*Life (New York).*

We can beat the swords into plowshares, but what can we do with the swivel-chair officer's spurs?—*Birmingham News.*

Disarmament is up to the peoples, since it can come only through improvement of human nature.—*Pittsburgh Gazette Times.*

The Disarmament Conference might be a greater success if the delegates were representative taxpayers.—*Baltimore Sun.*

It will be called the disarmament conference, Josephus Daniels says, "unless the public finds some shorter word for it." Shorter and uglier, perhaps.—*Memphis News-Scimitar.*

The ad writer who said: "You remember the quality; you forget the price," wasn't talking about war.—*Associated Editors, Chicago.*

Krupp works made 3000 freight cars last year, and each of them will carry farther than any "Big Bertha" ever could.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

Each nation's conviction that it is God's chosen people might be listed under the head of surplus war material.—*New York Evening Telegram.*

Is it significant that some of England's best-known writers of fiction are being detailed to report the Washington Conference?—*Detroit News.*

The "highest honor" that could be paid to the Unknown Soldiers, we suggest, would be not to have any more of them in future.—*New York Evening Post.*

It is estimated that the World War cost more in money than all the other wars of the world's history put together. If it is the last war it was worth the money.—*Chicago Daily News.*

G. B. Shaw predicts that England and America soon will be at war. Now we feel better. It was G. B. who picked Carpenter as a cinch winner in the Jersey City contest.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*